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THE HISTORY OF ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen*.

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Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XIX.

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Lautrech *beſieges* Naples. French *Fleet defeats that of the Imperialiſts.* Antonio da Leva *recovers* Pavia. Andrea Doria *deſerts the* French *Service for that of* Cæſar. *Pope becomes an open Enemy to the* Florentines, *and makes a League with* Cæſar. French *Army before* Naples *conſumed by a Peſtilence, which among the reſt carries off* Lautrech. Andrea Doria *takes* Genoa. *Confederates take* Pavia. Genoeſe *take* Savona, *and ſet themſelves at Liberty.* M. de St. Pol

A. D. 1528. *taken Priſoner by* Antonio da Leva. *Peace between* Cæſar *and the King of* France *at* Cambray. *Interview of the Pope with* Cæſar *at* Bologna, *where War is decreed againſt the* Florentines. Cæſar *makes Peace with the* Venetians, *and with* Franceſco Sforza, *to whom he reſtores the Dutchy of* Milan.

LAUTRECH being thus encamped with the Army under the Walls of *Naples*, the firſt Conſultation was, whether it were beſt to try to force that City by the Violence of Artillery, and the Valour of Men*, as many adviſed, who counſelled the General to augment the Number of his Infantry for that Purpoſe. Theſe repreſented the many Difficulties that would not admit of a long Continuance in that Station, as the Difficulty of ſupplying the Army with Proviſions, becauſe the Enemy, who much abounded in Light Horſe, and were ready on all Occaſions to employ them, obſtructed their Convoys; and the Hopes that *Naples* would be obliged to ſurrender by

Reaſons for vigorouſly attacking *Naples*.

* By Storm and Battery in the moſt ſpeedy Manner.

by Famine were uncertain, becauſe *Doria*'s Gallies being inſufficient to block up the Port, and the Gallies of the *Venetians*, though promiſed every Day, failing to come, there had entered into *Naples*, where Meal was ſcarce, four Gallies from *Gaeta* laden with that Commodity, and other Veſſels entered every Day; that the *Venetians* ſeemed cold and remiſs in their Proviſions, for, being obliged to contribute Twenty-two thouſand Ducats each Month for their Share, they were already run in Debt Sixty Thouſand; that Remittances of Money from *France* came but ſlowly; that the Army was already full of Diſtempers, which, however, did not proceed ſo much from the ordinary Gravity of that Air, which uſually begins to be hurtful at the End of Summer, as from the Seaſon, which had been very rainy, and becauſe many of the Army had lodged in the Field. *A. D.* 1528.

LAUTRECH, however, conſidering the great Number and Valour of the Defendants, and that the Fortifications on the Mountain, which might be ſuccoured, rendered *Lautrech's* contrary Reaſons and Conduct.

A. D. 1528. rendered it very difficult for him to make himſelf Maſter either of the Mountain or of the City by Force, and, perhaps, unwilling to lay out his Money on very ſlender Hopes, for fear that hereafter he ſhould not have enough to ſupply his ordinary Expences, reſolved to employ himſelf not in winning the Place by Force, but by Siege*, in Hopes that, before much Time had paſſed, the Enemy would come to want either Proviſions or Money. Wherefore he bent all his Thoughts and Preparations on a Siege, wholly intent on preventing Victuals from entering the Place by Land, and ſolliciting the Arrival of the *Venetian* Gallies, in order to ſtop their Importation by Sea. Then, changing his Reſolution, he permitted Skirmiſhes to be made, leſt the Soldiers, by remaining unactive, ſhould loſe their Courage. Hence frequent Skirmiſhing happened between Parties, and with great Reputation to the Black Bands, who, by the Diſcipline of *Giovanni de' Medici*, excelling in this Kind of Fight, had not as yet ſhewn their Proweſs in the Field, in a pitched Battle, and

* What the Author means by *Aſſedio*, a Siege, the Moderns call a Blockade.

and in a firm and ſteady Engagement. At this Time arrived in the Army Eighty Men at Arms from the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and an Hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, though he had been received into full Protection by the King of *France*, and by the *Venetians*, had yet delayed as much as he could to make any Motion, in order to regulate his Reſolutions by probable Conjectures on the future Event of the War. A. D. 1528.

In this State of Affairs the Imperialiſts conceived Hopes of defeating *Filippino Doria*, who lay at Anchor with his Gallies in the Bay of *Salerno*, not laying ſo much Streſs on the Number and Goodneſs of their Ships, as on the Valour of the Combatants; for they filled Six Gallies, Four Pinnaces, and Two Brigantines with a Thouſand *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers of the moſt valiant and moſt reputable Troops in the Army, with whom embarked Don *Ugo* the Viceroy, and almoſt all the Generals and Men of Authority. To this Fleet, which was under the Direction of *Gobbo*, a famous Commander, and of long

A. D. 1528. Experience in maritime Affairs, was added a great Number of Fiſhing-Boats, to terrify the Enemy at a Diſtance with the Proſpect of a greater Number of Ships. Theſe all ſet ſail from *Poſſilipo*, and touched at the Iſle of *Capri*, where Don *Ugo*, to the very great Prejudice of the Undertaking, loſt Time in hearing a *Spaniſh* Hermit, who in his Preaching kindled their Spirits to fight with a Reſolution worthy of the Glory of their Nation, acquired by ſo many Victories. From hence, leaving the Cape of *Minerva* on the Left, they entered the Main Sea, and detached Two Gallies before, with Orders to approach the Enemy, and then pretend to fly, in order to draw them forth into the open Sea. But *Filippino Doria* having the Day before, by truſty Spies, been appriſed of the Enemy's Deſign, had, in all Haſte, requeſted *Lautrech* to ſend him immediately Three Hundred Harquebuſiers, who arrived under the Command of Capt. *Croche* a little before the Diſcovery of the Enemy's Fleet. *Filippino*, as ſoon as he diſcovered them at a Diſtance, though he had with great Spirit made all the neceſ-

ſary

ſary Preparations for an Engagement, yet, being concerned at the great Number of Veſſels that appeared in Sight, ſtood in great Suſpenſe: But in a ſhort Space of Time he was freed from his Doubts by perceiving, when the Enemy drew near, that there were no more than Six Ships of the Line*. Wherefore with a bold Courage, and like a moſt expert naval Commander, he cauſed Three Gallies to part from the reſt in manner of a Flight, and by fetching a Compaſs to gain the Benefit of the Wind for attacking the Enemy on the Side and Stern. He himſelf with Five Gallies went to meet the Enemy, who ought in Policy to have diſcharged their Artillery, in order to have taken from him his Sight and Level by the Smoke. But *Filippino* gave Fire to a very large Baſiliſk of his Galley, which ſtruck the Admiral Galley, on board of which was Don *Ugo*, and killed at the firſt Shot Forty Men, among whom were the Captain, and many Officers, and the other Cannons diſcharged afterwards killed and wounded a Mul-

A. D. 1528.

* *Legni da Gaggia*, "Ships of Scuttle," or which have a Scuttle or Bowl on the Topmaſt, proper to large Veſſels of Force,

A. D. 1528. Multitude. On the other hand, the Diſcharge of the Cannon from Don *Ugo's* Galley killed aboard the Galley of *Filippino* the Captain, and wounded the Maſter, and the Ships approaching one another there was a ſharp Engagement with Harquebuſſes and other Arms. But the *Genoeſe*, experienced in theſe Fights, better avoided the Danger, fighting bended, and cautiouſly between the Intervals of Paviſes*. While the two Gallies were thus combating with the greateſt Fierceneſs, Three other Gallies of the Imperialiſts grappled with Two *Genoeſe*, and had a great Superiority, when the Three firſt *Genoeſe* Gallies, which, making a Show of flying, had got out into the open Sea, returned upon the Enemy, and gave their Fire on the Side of the Admiral Galley, and brought down the Maſt of the Galley called the *Neptune*, which did her a great deal of Damage. Here Don *Ugo*, wounded in the Arm, while he was encouraging his Men, amidſt the Stones and Wildfire thrown

* *Palueſi*, 'Paviſes,' properly large Shields, but here ſeems to be meant what Seamen call *Waſte-Cloths*, which are Cloths hung about the Lag-work of a Ship's Hull to ſhadow the Men from the Enemy in a Fight.

thrown from the Maſts of the hoſtile Gallies, was ſlain fighting. Then the Admiral Galley of *Filippino* and the *Mora* ſhattered and tore the Admiral Galley of Don *Ugo*, and the other Two with their Cannon ſunk the *Gobba*, in which *Fieramoſca* periſhed. In the mean time the other Gallies of *Filippino* had reſcued thoſe Two Gallies of theirs which were oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, and taken their Pinnaces. Only Two Gallies of the *Spaniards*, ſeeing the Victory in the Enemy's Hands, made a ſhift to eſcape much ſhattered. At the ſame time the Marquis *del Guaſto* and *Aſcanio*, their Galley ready to ſink and in Flames, the Oars broken, and almoſt all the Soldiers killed, and themſelves wounded, were made Priſoners, the Splendor of their gilt Arms ſaving them from Death. *Filippino* was pretty much aſſiſted in this Engagement by the Galley Slaves whom he releaſed, who were for the moſt Part *Turks* and *Moors*, and fought excellently well. Don *Ugo* was dead and thrown into the Sea, and ſo was *Fieramoſca*; there remained Priſoners the Marquis *del Guaſto*, *Aſcanio Colonna*,

A. D. 1528.

French defeat the Imperialiſts in a naval Engagement.

A. D. 1528 *Colonna*, the Prince of *Salerno*, *Santa Croce*, *Camillo Colonna*, *Gobbo*, *Serenone*, and many other Officers and Gentlemen; of the Soldiers above a Thouſand were killed; of the *French* were but few killed or wounded. *Filippino* ſent the Priſoners with Three Gallies to *Andrea Doria*, and not long after one of the Gallies that had ſaved themſelves deſerted to the *French*.

THIS Victory gave great Hopes to the *French* of the Succeſs of the whole Undertaking, and, perhaps, greater than would have been requiſite, ſince it made *Lautrech* in ſome meaſure more ſlack in his Proviſions; but it filled the Imperialiſts with great Terror, as doubting that they ſhould want the Means of Subſiſtence, being wholly deprived of the Dominion of the Sea, and ſtraitened in many Parts by Land, eſpecially ſince the Loſs of *Pozzuolo*, for by that Road great Quantities of Victuals were conveyed to *Naples*, in which was already a great Scarcity of Meal and Fleſh, and but a ſmall Quantity of Wine. Wherefore the Day after the Defeat they turned

Naples ſtraitened.

out

out of the City a great Number of uſeleſs Mouths, and, eſtabliſhing an Order in the Diſtribution of Food, took care that the *German* Foot ſhould ſuffer leſs than the other Soldiers. A. D. 1528.

THESE Circumſtances were very flattering to *Lautrech*, whoſe Hopes were ſtill much more increaſed by the Interception of a Brigantine on the 7th of *May* with Letters of the Generals to *Cæſar*, by which they ſignified that they had loſt the Flower of the Army; that there was not in *Naples* Corn for above a Month and half, but that they ground their Meal by Strength of Arm; that the *Germans* began to be tumultuous, and that there was no further Remedy for theſe Evils but by the ſpeedy Arrival of ſome Proviſion of Money, and of Succours by Sea and Land. It was added, that the Plague was begun in *Naples*, which is very contagious where are *German* Soldiers, becauſe they abſtain not from converſing with the Infected, nor from managing their Concerns. Plague in that City.

ON

A. D. 1528.

On the other ſide the *French* ſuffered for want of Water, ſince from *Poggio Reale* to the Front of the Army were nothing but Ciſterns which ſerved the Troops; Sickneſs alſo increaſed in the Camp, and the Enemy, being much ſuperior in Light Horſe, was continually making Sallies, eſpecially by the Way that leads to *Somma*, and not only conveyed into the City Plenty of Fleſh and Wine, but frequently intercepted the Convoys of Proviſions that were coming to the *French* Army. Many ſollicited *Lautrech* to take into his Service ſome Light Horſe for oppoſing thoſe of the Enemy; But he not only refuſed to do it, but even permitted the greater Part of the *French* Cavalry to diſperſe themſelves into *Capua*, *Averſa*, and *Nola*, which gave the Enemy more Liberty to act as above related. He was adviſed by others, ſince the Infantry of the Army was diminiſhed by Sickneſs, to raiſe Seven or Eight Thouſand Foot, for recruiting his Infantry, and alſo for making it ſtronger, as it had been deſired from the Beginning. But he refuſed

Obſtinacy of *Lautrech*.

fuſed to do it, alledging, that he wanted Money, though at that time he had received a convenient Supply from *France*, beſides the Revenue from the Duty on the Sheep of *Puglia*, and of the conquered Towns; and the Lords of the Kingdom who attended him had been ready to lend him no ſmall Sums of Money. *A. D.* 1528.

HERE it will be worth our Pains to conſider what Diſorders are occaſioned by the Obſtinacy of thoſe who are entruſted with the Management of great Affairs. *Lautrech* was, without doubt, the principal General in the Kingdom of *France*, of long Experience in War, and of very great Authority in the Army; but of a haughty and imperious Nature, who, truſting to himſelf alone, while he deſpiſed the Counſels of all others, while he would hearken to nobody, while he thought it a Diſgrace that Men ſhould diſcover that he was not always governed by his own Judgment, omitted thoſe Proviſions which, had they been employed, would, perhaps, have ſecured the Victory, but, being deſpiſed, were

The Ruin of his Army.

A. D. 1528. were the Occaſion of reducing the Enterpriſe, begun with ſuch great Hopes, to the utmoſt Ruin.

Bravery of the Black Bands.

THE Soldiers of the Black Bands ſkirmiſhed every Day, being quartered in the Front of the Army, and their Exceſs of Courage carrying them ſo near the Walls of *Naples* as to expoſe them to the Shot of the Harquebuſſes from thence, and having no Cavalry to ſecure their Retreat, they were cut down by the Enemy's Horſe. Hence, finding the Diſadvantage of ſkirmiſhing without Cavalry under the Walls of *Naples*, they began to be more cautious, and not ſo frequently to engage in ſuch Conteſts.

Progreſs of the *French*.

AFTER the naval Victory the Town of *Stabbia* on the Sea Coaſt ſurrendered to *Lautrech*, but not the Caſtle. *San Germano* had alſo ſubmitted; and the Troops that were in *Gaeta* having recovered *Fondi* and the Country about it, *Lautrech* ſent thither Don *Ferrando Gaetano*, Son of the Duke of *Trajetto*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, who had newly agreed with the *French*, becauſe

becauſe the Imperial Generals took but little Care to get him releaſed, who eaſily repoſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe Places. *Simone Romano* alſo made a great Progreſs in *Calabria*, through the Readineſs of the People to own the Name of the *French*. *A. D.* 1528.

BUT theſe Actions were not ſufficient to obtain the Victory of the War, which wholly depended on the Conqueſt or Defence of *Naples*. *Lautrech*, therefore, principally intent on the Siege, and not wholly deſpairing of carrying *Naples* by Force, ſince ſo many of the *Spaniſh* Foot had been killed in the naval Engagement, ſollicited the Coming of the *French* and *Venetian* Fleets, that he might deprive that City of all Conveyance of Proviſions by Sea. He alſo advanced the Front of his Army more forward on a Hill nearer to *Naples* and to the Mountain of *San Martino*, where an Intrenchment was made by the Black Bands, not only for carrying a Trench from that Hill as far as the Sea Coaſt, and which, having at its Extremity towards the Sea a Redoubt, ſhould block up the Road to *Somma*, but *Lautrech* preſſes the Siege of *Naples*.

A. D. 1528. alſo for attempting, as ſoon as the Fleets were arrived, to take the Mountain of *San Martino* by Force, after having firſt caſt up another Intrenchment between the City and that Mountain, that one might not ſuccour the other; which done, he deſigned at the ſame time to aſſault *Naples* with the Fleets on the Side of the Sea, and while he cannonaded the Town from the Front of the Camp on the Inſide, to attack it without by one Part of the Army, and with the other to ſtorm the Mountain, that the Enemy being neceſſitated to divide their Troops into ſo many Places might the more eaſily be forced in one Quarter or other. He took Care, however, in removing the Front of the Camp to a greater Diſtance, not to abandon *Poggio Reale*, leſt the Enemy by recovering it might deprive him of the Conveniency of Water, but drew the Rear of his Camp cloſer together.

His Scheme fruſtrated.

THIS Scheme was well laid, but oppoſed by many Difficulties in the Execution; for neither could the Trenches, which were to be carried to the Sea above

a

a Mile in Length, be worked for want of Pioneers, and becauſe of the Sickneſs among the Soldiers; nor did the Fleets arrive, as Neceſſity would have required, either for a Siege or a Storm. For *Andrea Doria* with the Gallies that were at *Genoa* did not move, of the Fleet prepared at *Marſeilles* nothing was heard, and the *Venetians*, more intent on their own Intereſt than on the common Benefit, or rather on their leſſer and ſubordinate than on their principal Intereſt, employed their Fleet in the Enterpriſe on *Brindiſi* and *Otranto*; of which Cities *Otranto* had capitulated to ſurrender if it were not relieved within Sixteen Days, and though *Brindiſi* had admitted the *Venetians* by an Agreement, the Caſtles ſtill held out for *Cæſar*, that by the Sea ſo ſtrong that there were no Hopes of taking it by Force, but the great Caſtle within the City ſeemed no longer able to make Reſiſtance, having loſt two Outworks. A. D. 1528.

On the 12th of *May Lautrech* planted his Cannon on the Hill, and battered a large Tower which greatly annoyed the Progreſs of the Siege.

A. D. 1528. Field. He alſo frequently fired into the Town, but with little Succeſs, and ſometimes there were Skirmiſhes at *Sant' Antonio*. On the 16th the Artillery planted on the Top of the Hill played upon certain large Towers between the Gate of *San Gennaro* and the *Capuan* Gate, and prevented the carrying on a Baſtion which the Beſieged had begun.

State of the Garriſon. IN *Naples* the greateſt Part of the Subſiſtence was on boiled Corn, and Numbers left the Town every Day; and the *Germans*, though they ſuffered leſs than others, made frequent Proteſts for Want of Bread, and much more of Wine and Fleſh, for Want of which they ſuffered greatly, though, beſides other Arts, they were ſufficiently amuſed with falſe Letters of Relief.

Beſiegers work on Trenches. ON the 19th the Beſiegers worked on a new Intrenchment and a Redoubt, on which they deſigned, as ſoon as it ſhould be perfected, to plant two Cannons for ruining two Mills near the *Maddalena*, guarded by two Companies of *Germans*, which

which had never yet been attempted, because they were in a Condition to be ſuccoured from *Naples*. *A. D.* 1528.

HITHERTO the Affairs of the *French* had been attended with nothing but Proſperity; but from this time began, thro' occult Cauſes, to tend towards a Decline. For *Filippino Doria*, by Orders ſecretly received, as it was known afterwards, from *Andrea Doria*, had retired with the Gallies to the Coaſt of *Pozzuolo*, ſo that ſome Quantity of Proviſions in Barks was continually entering *Naples*, where had remained few others beſide Soldiers. And though the *Venetian* Fleet, after the Acquiſition of *Otranto*, gave Hopes every Hour of coming to *Naples*, yet they delayed in Expectation of ſoon obtaining the great Caſtle of *Brindiſi*. Diſtempers alſo increaſed hourly in the Army; and the Black Bands, who, formerly, when Occaſion called to Action, appeared in a Body of above Three Thouſand, now, between Wounded, Sick, and Dead, ſcarce made up Two Thouſand. *French* Affairs decline.

A D. 1528.

ON the 22d the *Spaniards* attacked the Guard of the Beſiegers in the new Trenches, where they were working in Hopes of finiſhing them in Six or Eight Days; and *Oratio Baglione*, who was with a ſmall Company in a dangerous Place, was ſlain fighting; a Death more worthy of a private Soldier than of a General. From this Diſorder the Imperialiſts, conceiving Hopes of greater Succeſs, made a new Sally in a very large Body; but the Camp putting themſelves in Arms, and a ſtrong Guard being poſted at the Trenches, they retired.

Oratio Baglione killed.

FILIPPINO, however, after many Inſtances uſed with him, returned anew into the Bay of *Naples*; and on the 27th the Trenches were not yet finiſhed, which had been begun for ſtopping up the Road towards *Somma*. The *Spaniards* alſo made Excurſions every Day, and infeſted the Roads, conveying great Quantities of Fleſh into the City, and meeting with little Diſturbance from the Cavalry of the Camp, becauſe they very rarely marched out. And now *Lautrech* began to deſire a Supple-

Beſieged make Excurſions.

Supplement of Foot; but, becauſe he would not yield in every Reſpect to the Counſel of others, he inſiſted on having Six Thouſand Men of any Nation ſent him out of *France* by Sea; for Want and Sickneſs had induced Multitudes to leave the Camp, and amidſt ſo many Difficulties he himſelf began to be the only Perſon that had any Hopes of Victory, which he grounded on the Famine of the City. A. D. 1528

In the mean time *Simone Romano*, with Two Thouſand Foot between *Corſicans* and Peaſants, had a proſperous Career of Succeſs in *Calabria*: For though he was oppoſed by the Prince of *Biſignano*, and a Son of *Alarcone* with a Thouſand Foot of the Country, yet they found it difficult to make Head againſt him; wherefore the Son of *Alarcone* retired into *Taranto*, leaving the Prince in the Field. But ſoon after *Simone* made himſelf Maſter of *Coſenza* by Agreement, and then ſeizing on a neighbouring Town he took Priſoners the Prince of *Stigliano*, and the Marquis of *Laino* his Son, with two others of his *French* Partiſans ſucceſsful in *Calabria*.

A. D 1528 Sons. But in *Puglia* thoſe who held *Manfredonia* in the Name of *Cæſar* ſcoured all the Country, the Horſe and Foot of the *Venetians* not reſiſting them, being employed in the Acquiſition of thoſe Towns abovementioned.

Diſturbances near *Rome*. NOR were all Things at Peace in the Territory of *Rome*; for *Sciarra Colonna* having taken *Paliano*, though it was defended by the Daughter of *Veſpaſiano* in the Name of the Pontiff, it was recovered by the Abbot of *Farfa*, where *Sciarra* and *Proſpero da Gavi* were taken Priſoners, though *Sciarra*, by the Aſſiſtance of *Luigi da Gonzaga*, made his Eſcape.

BUT while the Armies ſtruggled about *Naples* with theſe Difficulties and theſe Hopes, *Antonio da Leva* being informed that the City of *Pavia* was but negligently guarded, though it had within it *Pietro da Lunghena* with Four Hundred Horſe and a Thouſand Foot of the *Venetians*, and *Annibale Pizzinardo*, Governor of *Cremona*, with Three Hundred Foot, whoſe Buſineſs there was to keep the Country

beyond

beyond the *Po* in Devotion to the Duke, one Night, on a ſudden, ſcaling the Walls on three Quarters, without being perceived by the Soldiers, made himſelf Maſter of the Place by Aſſault, taking Priſoners *Pietro da Lunghena*, and a Son of *Janus Fregoſo*. From thence *Antonio da Leva* marched to *Biagraſſa*, where the Garriſon after a very few Cannon Shot ſurrendered; and deſigning afterwards to proceed to *Arona*, *Federigo Buonromei* entered into an Agreement with him, obliging himſelf to follow the Party of *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1528.

Antonio da Leva ſurpriſes *Pavia*.

At this Juncture the Duke of *Brunſwick*, proceeding from *Trento*, had on the 9th of *May* paſſed the *Adice* with an Army, in which were Ten Thouſand Foot, and Six Hundred Horſe well armed, among them many Noblemen, and being repulſed at *Chiuſa*, he had deſcended into the *Veroneſe*. And though, his Coming being known long before, it had been reſolved that *St. Pol* ſhould march to oppoſe him, yet, no greater Diligence being uſed in this than in other Proviſions, the *Germans*

Duke of *Brunſwick* with an Army in *Italy*.

A. D. 1528. *mans* were in *Italy* before *St. Pol* was diſpoſed to put himſelf in Motion; and he was afterwards neceſſitated to ſojourn many Days in *Aſti*, to aſſemble the Troops, and on account of the Difficulty of Victuals, of which there was in all *Italy*, and eſpecially in *Lombardy*, a very great Dearth.

His Progreſs. No greater or more ready Aſſiſtance could be expected to the common Cauſe than from the *Venetian* Senate; but tho' they had declared that they would take the Field with an Army of Twelve Thouſand Men, yet the Duke of *Urbino* entered into *Verona*, and had no other Thoughts but of defending the moſt important Towns of their State. The *Germans*, therefore, deſcending to the Lake of *Garda* took Poſſeſſion of *Peſchiera* by Capitulation, and the ſame Day alſo of *Rivolta* and *Lunata*; ſo that having the Command of almoſt the whole Lake, they exacted Sums of Money from ſeveral Places, and burnt thoſe that were unable to redeem themſelves. *Antoniotto Adorno*, who had repaired to that Army, ſtimulated them to march towards *Genoa*; but as they had no Money,

Money, and laboured under many Difficulties, and wanted a Conference with *Antonio da Leva*, who had ſet out from *Milan* for that Purpoſe, they marched ſlowly through the *Breſcian*, where they expected to meet with *Andrea di Burgos*, and General *George*, by whoſe Mediation it was doubted that the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, in ſo great a Fear of the others, had made no Proviſion, would hold ſome ſecret Negotiation with them. The *Germans* directed their March towards the *Adda* to join with *Antonio da Leva*, who, having on the 9th Day of *June* paſſed the River *Adda* with Six Thouſand Foot, and Sixteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, and encamped near them at the Diſtance of Three Miles from *Bergamo* (into which City the Duke of *Urbino* was come from *Breſcia*, after he had diſtributed his Troops into *Breſcia* and *Verona*) perſuaded them, from an extteme Deſire which he had to recover *Lodi*, to employ themſelves in recovering the State of *Milan* before they paſſed to *Naples*. A. D. 1528.

THUS

A. D. 1528.

THUS on the 20th Day of *June* the *Germans* ſat down before *Lodi*, in which City the Duke of *Milan*, who was retired to *Breſcia*, had left *Giampaolo*, his natural Brother, with leſs than Three Thouſand Foot. The Beſiegers having planted Batteries on two Quarters, which did great Execution, *Antonio da Leva*, who was to give the firſt Aſſault, cauſed the *Spaniſh* Foot to approach the main Breach. The *Spaniards* fought Three Hours with great Fierceneſs and Obſtinacy, but, the *Italian* Foot which were in Garriſon no leſs diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their Valour and Conſtancy, they were at laſt repulſed, and, laying aſide all further Thoughts of winning the Place by Storm, placed all their Hopes in reducing it by Famine. For the Harveſt not being yet gathered, and Bread no more diſtributed to any but the Soldiers, the Inhabitants of the Town muſt of neceſſity die of Hunger, or depart out of the Place with very great Danger.

Lays Siege to *Lodi*.

BUT

A. D. 1528.

BUT the Plague was already got among the *Germans*, and there being a Scarcity alſo in the Army, many deſerted the Service, and returned to their own Country through the Dominions of the *Swiſs* and of the *Griſons*, the Duke of *Brunſwick* their General not being very diligent to prevent them. For having conceived vaſt Hopes when in *Germany*, from the Example of the Foot conducted by *George Fronſperg*, he found Affairs in *Italy* to ſucceed with more Difficulty than he had imagined. Money alſo being wanting, it was in a manner impoſſible for him to keep his Troops firm before *Lodi*, much leſs to conduct them to the Kingdom of *Naples*. Nor did *Antonio da Leva* ſupply him with any Money, but, on the contrary, deprived him of all Hopes from that Quarter by continual Complaints of the Poverty of *Milan*. For *Antonio*, after he had loſt all Hope of recovering *Lodi*, never thought, nor was intent on any thing but to give the *Germans* Cauſe to leave the Country, being apprehenſive that they would take up their Quarters in that State,

A. D. 1528. State, and ſo become Sharers with him in the Government and in the Spoil; and, while they were loſing their Time, he took care to have the Wheat and Oats in all the State of *Milan* threſhed out, and the Harveſt carried to *Milan*. At laſt, on the 13th Day of *July*, when a freſh Aſſault was to be given to *Lodi*, the *Germans* mutinied, and a Thouſand of them went off towards *Como*, the others, who remained in very great Diſorder, drew off their Cannon from before *Lodi*.

Siege raiſed.

THE Marquis *del Guaſto* therefore, hearing that the *Germans* would return home, having obtained Liberty of *Andrea Doria* for Ten Days upon his Parole, repaired to *Milan* to perſuade *Brunſwick* to prevent his Soldiers from returning into *Germany*. But as they were not to be amuſed with Words, they took their March homewards by the Way of *Como*, there remaining with *Antonio da Leva*, to whom about this Time *Mortara* had ſurrendered, about Two Thouſand, it being certain that, if they had ſtayed ſome Days longer,

Germans return home.

longer, they must have taken *Lodi* for Want of Provisions. A. D. 1528.

In this Expedition many wanted the Duke of *Urbino* to be more ready and careful, while the Enemy was employed in the Siege of *Lodi*, to move and post himself near *Crema* or *Pizzichitone*, or, at least, to have kept there a Number of Light Horse to infest them; though, it is true, when they were in the *Brescian*, he had sometimes moved along by them, and harassed them, yet never approaching them within the Distance of Three Miles, but, contenting himself with defending the State of the *Venetians*, never passed the River *Oglio*. Duke of *Urbino* censured.

Nor was M. *de St. Pol* more ready or expeditious in his Passage; for, notwithstanding all the Designs and Promises of the King to send, for his own Interest, a Body of Troops against the *Germans*, *St. Pol* did not arrive in *Piedmont* but at the Time when the *Germans* were on their March homewards, and that too with a much- *French* remiss.

A. D. 1528 much leſſer Number than they had publiſhed.

THE Confederates, however, did not ceaſe ſolliciting the Pontiff afreſh to declare for them, and to proceed againſt *Cæſar* with ſpiritual Arms by depriving him of the Empire and of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Pontiff, after alledging in Excuſe that by declaring for them he ſhould diſqualify himſelf for a Mediator of Peace; that his Declaration would excite greater Broils between Chriſtian Princes, without any Advantage to the Allies, on account of his Poverty and Impotence; and that the Reputation of *Cæſar* would put all *Germany*, in a Commotion, out of a Jealouſy that he intended to aſſume to himſelf the Authority of electing an Emperor, and that he would chuſe the King of *France*, repreſented the imminent Danger from the *Lutherans*, who were continually ſpreading themſelves. At laſt, being no longer able to reſiſt their Inſtances, he offered himſelf ready to enter into the League, provided that the *Venetians* reſtored to him *Ravenna*, a Condition propoſed

Pope's Reaſons for not acceding to the League.

posed by him as impossible, offering also to be obliged not to molest the State of *Florence*. Wherefore on the 20th Day of *June* the Ambassadors of the King of *England* arrived at *Venice*, to make Instances with that Senate for the Restitution of *Ravenna*, engaging for the Pontiff's Observance of his Promises; but, not being able to obtain their Request, they departed in Dissatisfaction. At this time the Pontiff recovered *Rimini*, which, having been in vain before attempted by *Giovanni da Sassatello*, was at last surrendered on condition of Safety to Persons and Effects. A. D. 1528.

He recovers *Rimini*.

But now began to be discovered, as being no longer capable of Dissimulation, the Pontiff's most profound and hidden Projects, which he had before concealed with a Multiplicity of Arts. For having deeply fixed in his Mind a longing Desire to restore his Family to their Greatness in *Florence*, he had endeavoured, by publicly declaring in the most positive and serious Manner the contrary, to persuade the *Florentines* that nothing was more remote from his Thoughts, and that all he

Seeks the Restoration of his Family to *Florence* by various Ways.

A. D. 1528. desired was that the Republic, after the Example of other Christian Princes, should acknowledge him as Pontiff; and that in private Affairs they should not persecute his Friends and Dependants, nor remove the proper Ornaments and Ensigns of his Family. With this Message he had, as soon as he was set at Liberty, sent to *Florence* a *Florentine* Prelate as his Ambassador, who not obtaining Audience, he had made many Instances, and by the Mediation of the King of *France*, that they would send an Ambassador to him, endeavouring, by removing their Suspicions, and dealing openly and candidly with them, to render them more heedless, and liable to fall into his Snares. But having in vain tryed these Methods, he endeavoured to persuade *Lautrech* that those who had the Management of Affairs in *Siena* being Dependents on *Cæsar*, it would be expedient for his Affairs to restore to that City *Fabio Petrucci*. But though *Lautrech* was convinced that the Pontiff had Reasons for what he said, he forbore to act in it out of Complaisance to the *Florentines*. The Pontiff not succeeding this Way,

Way, he operated in ſecret that *Pirro da Caſtel di Piero*, on pretence of Grievances from the *Seneſe*, ſhould, by means of ſome Exiles of *Chiuſi*, with Eight Hundred Men ſeize on that Town, as convenient for diſtreſſing the Government of *Siena*. But the *Florentines* having convinced the Viſcount of *Turenne*, the *French* Ambaſſador, that the Pope had no other End in View, than to diſturb, by the Commodiouſneſs of *Siena* for that Purpoſe, the Affairs of *Florence*, the Ambaſſador prevailed with the Pontiff that the Attempt on *Chiuſi* ſhould be laid aſide. *A. D.* 1528.

THE Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples* at this Time proceeded with various Succeſs; for the Count *di Burella* was arrived from *Sicily* in *Calabria* with a Thouſand Foot, and had joined the others: On the other Side *Simone Romano* had by mining got the Caſtle of *Coſenza* ſurrendered to him at Diſcretion; though his being wounded there with the Shot of a Harquebuſs in the Shoulder retarded in ſome meaſure the Courſe of the Victory. Afterwards joining with the Duke of Progreſs of the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

A. D. 1528. *Somma*, who with the Troops of the Country beſieged *Catanzaro*, a very ſtrong Town, but in extreme Want of Proviſions, and garriſoned with Two Hundred Horſe and a Thouſand Foot under *Alarcone*'s Son-in-law, they became Maſters of the Place, and by that means of all the Country as far as the Upper *Calabria*. But Neceſſity now conſtrained them to turn their Arms againſt the Troops joined with thoſe from *Sicily*, which had already made ſome Progreſs. But *Simone*, being deſerted by a Part of his Peaſant Infantry, was neceſſitated to retire to the Caſtle of *Coſenza*; and the reſt of his Foot, after ſome of them had been killed, diſperſed themſelves, and the *Corſicans* were retreating towards the Army; ſo that not only *Calabria* was left in Danger, but it was feared that the Conquerors would direct their March towards *Naples*. But, on the contrary, the Affairs of the *French* met with proſperous Succeſs in the *Abruzzi*, where the Biſhop *Colonna* having advanced within Twelve Miles of *Aquila*, in order to excite an Inſurrection in the *Abruzzi*, was routed and killed by the Abbot of *Farfa*,

Farfa, Four Hundred of his Men being slain, and about Eight Hundred taken Prisoners. About *Gaeta* the *Spaniards* were continually on the Retreat by the Arrival of the Prince of *Melfi*, and those of *Manfredonia*, through the little military Virtue of the *Venetian* Troops, did considerable Damage. *A. D.* 1528.

THE Pontiff at this time persevered in his Resolution of declaring for no Party; but, because he held different Negotiations, was suspected by the King of *France*, and not in favour with *Cæsar*, if on no other Account, yet because he had appointed Cardinal *Campeggio* his Legate in *England* to debate in that Island the Cause delegated to him and to the Cardinal of *York*. For that King making Instances for a Declaration of the Invalidity of his first Marriage, the Pontiff, who had gone great Lengths in Words with his Ministers, because finding himself in little Credit with the other Princes he was willing to preserve his Patronage, caused to be drawn up very secretly a decretal declaratory Bull that the Marriage was invalid, which he gave to Cardinal *Campeggio*, and

Marriage of *Henry* VIII. try'd by Delegates.

A. D. 1528. charged him to ſhew it to the King and to the Cardinal of *York*, and ſay that he had Orders to publiſh it if the Tryal of the Cauſe had not a happy Iſſue in the Court of Juſtice, with a View that they might the more eaſily conſent to hear the Examination in a judicial Way, and might the more patiently bear with the Length of the Tryal, which he had ordered Cardinal *Campeggio* to prolong as much as poſſible, and not to give the Bull without freſh Inſtructions from him; but he endeavoured to perſuade him (as it is alſo likely that it was at that time in his Thoughts) that his Intention was that it ſhould be given at laſt. Of this Deſtination of the Legate, and Delegation of the Cauſe, the *Cæſarean* Ambaſſador made heavy Complaints in *Rome*, but with the leſs Authority, becauſe of the bad Aſpect of the Affairs of *Cæſar* in the *Neapolitan* Kingdom.

But about *Naples* many Difficulties diſcovered themſelves on both Sides, but ſuch as, when all the Reaſons were collected, ſeemed to turn the Scale in favour of the *French*, whoſe Victory was retarded by

by the Valour and Obſtinacy of the Enemy. For in *Naples* the Dearth increaſed daily, eſpecially of Wine and Fleſh, nothing any longer entering the Place by Sea, ſince the Gallies of the *Venetians*, in Number Twenty-two, were, after a long Expedition, on the 10th Day of *June*, arrived in the Bay of *Naples*. For though the Cavalry of the Garriſon ſallied out continually, not towards the Army, but into thoſe Parts where they expected to find Proviſions, and almoſt conſtantly returned with Booties, eſpecially of Fleſh, yet, tho' they were of great Service, they were not ſo plentiful as to afford Subſiſtence for any Length of Time without the Benefit of the Sea. The Beſieged were, beſides, afflicted with a great Plague, a Want of Money, and a Difficulty of keeping up the *German* Foot, who were many times deluded with vain Hopes and Promiſes, and ſome of them went off by Files to the *French* Army; though the Favour and Authority which the Prince of *Orange*, to whom the Death of Don *Ugo* had left the Authority of Viceroy, had gained with them, were of great Efficacy to retain them. That

A. D. 1528.

Hardſhips in *Naples*.

A D. 1528. Prince put under Confinement *Catta*, a *Gaſcon* Officer of the Remains of the Duke of *Bourbon*, with many of his Men, and a little after, out of a vain Suſpicion, did the like by *Fabritio Maramaus*, tho' he ſoon ſet him at Liberty.

Sickneſs raging in the *French* Camp.

On the other ſide Diſeaſes continually increaſed in the *French* Army; for which reaſon *Lautrech*, that he might not have ſo great a Space to guard, did not proceed to perfect the laſt Intrenchment, which was alſo difficult to be finiſhed on account of an Impediment from certain Waters which the Workmen had cut. There was alſo a Dearth in the Army, but more for Want of Order than from any other Cauſe. *Lautrech*, however, had more Hope in the Neceſſities of *Naples* than Fear of Difficulties, and either for that Reaſon, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould ſoon finiſh the Conqueſt, or for want of Money, made no new Levies of Foot, as was deſired by the whole Army, on account of the Dead and Sick not only among thoſe of lower Rank, and private Soldiers, but among great Perſons, and Men of Authority;

thority; for on the 15th Day of *June* died the Pope's Nuncio, and *Luigi Piſano*, the *Venetian* Proveditor. He was alſo in Hopes of getting over to his Army all, or the greateſt Part of the *Germans* in *Naples*; a Project, in which the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and afterwards he himſelf had a long time vainly confided. The ſame Reaſons, and the Hopes that were given him of cauſing a Deſertion of ſome Light Horſe in *Naples* to his Army, withheld him from liſting Light Horſe, ſo highly neceſſary, and which, had he liſted at leaſt Four Hundred, would have done him very great Service. For the Cavalry of the Beſieged ranged at Liberty; tho' returning one Day to *Naples* with a great Body of Cattle, and falling in with the Black Bands, which were the Sinews of the Army, and without which it could not have lain before *Naples*, it was taken from them with the Loſs of about Sixty Horſe, in ſpite of the *Spaniards*, who all ſallied out of *Naples*, but too late, to ſuccour them.

A. D. 1528.

LAUTREC

A. D. 1528.

Siege of *Naples.*

LAUTRECH expected that the Enemy would ſoon be neceſſitated to abandon *Naples*, and, therefore, reſolving to deprive them of the Means of retiring to *Gaeta*, he ordered *Capua* and the maritime Town of *Vulturno* to be garriſoned; and to take away from them alſo the Liberty of retiring into *Calabria*, beſides cauſing certain Paſſes to be cut, he began afreſh to work on the Intrenchment, ſeveral times begun, but interrupted by various Accidents, carrying the Bottom now ſo high, that the Waters, which were an Hindrance, reſted underneath. He deſigned alſo to fortify a Village very near *Naples*, and to garriſon it with a Thouſand Foot, which he reſolved to liſt for that Purpoſe, being favoured beſides by the *Venetian* Gallies, that came up directly over againſt the Intrenchment, which ſerved alſo for the more convenient Conveyance of Proviſions from the Sea Side to the Army, and to cut off the Road from the Enemies when they returned that Way with their Plunder; for, on account of the great Ditches, and the Waters

Waters of *Poggio Reale*, which had been cut, the Way from the Army to the Sea was by a great and dangerous Circuit. The Imperialiſts attempted to hinder thoſe who worked on the Trenches, for which Purpoſe having one Day made a very great Sally, the Pioneers, by Order of *Pietro Navarra*, who had the Direction of that Work, betook themſelves to Flight, ſo that the Imperialiſts unwarily purſuing them were drawn into an Ambuſh, where they had above an Hundred killed and wounded. The Intrenchment, however, was not as yet half finiſhed, as well for Want of Pioneers, as for another Cauſe, for Negligence often fruſtrated the good Orders that were made, which had they been conſtantly obſerved, it is the Opinion of many that, on account of the extreme Diſtreſs of *Naples*, *Lautrech* would undoubtedly have obtained the Victory. A. D. 1528.

About the ſame time there happened an Opportunity of very great Moment, had the Executors been as good as the Contrivers. *Lautrech* had Intelligence that a very numerous Body of the Garriſon of

Naples.

A. D. 1528

Naples was gone out on marauding by the Way of *Piè di Grotta*. Wherefore, that he might oppreſs them, he ſent out, in the Night of the 25th of *June*, the Foot of the Black Bands, the Horſe of the *Florentines*, and Sixty *French* Lances, with ſome Companies of *Swiſs* and *Germans*, towards *Belvedere* and *Piè di Grotta*, to meet them; and, to cut off their Retreat, he appointed General *Burie* to poſt himſelf with ſome *Gaſcon* Foot on a Hill overlooking the Grotta, and, as ſoon as the Alarm was given, to deſcend, and prevent the Imperialiſts from entering the Grotta. The Beginning of this Action ſucceeded happily; for the Troops of *Lautrech* meeting the Enemies, engaged and put them to Flight, killing and taking above Three Hundred Men, with an Hundred ſerviceable Horſes, and a great deal of Baggage. Don *Ferrando da Gonzaga* was unhorſed in fighting, and taken Priſoner, but reſcued by the Fury of the *Germans*. But General *Burie*, either through Fear or Negligence, did not preſent himſelf at the Place appointed, which had he done, that Body of the Enemy, it

Action to the Advantage of the *French*

is

is believed, would have been all deſtroyed. A. D. 1528.
Lautrech had alſo ſent Six Gallies of the *Venetians* to *Gaeta*, and two of them had ſtopped at the Mouth of the *Garigliano* to favour the Prince of *Melfi*; and becauſe the Gallies could not hinder the Importation of ſome Refreſhment into *Naples* in Frigates, he put to Sea ſome ſmall Barks to prevent it. He ordered alſo that all the Cattle every where ſhould be removed Fifteen Miles from *Naples*, that they might not be ſo eaſily carried off by the Imperialiſts.

Andrea Doria deſerts the *French*.

BUT a new Event which diſcovered itſelf, and of which had long before appeared ſome Indication, cauſed great Perturbation in the *French* Affairs. For *Andrea Doria* reſolved to quit the Service of the King of *France*, to which he was obliged till the End of *June*: A Reſolution, by what may be conjectured, taken ſome Months before. Hence it had proceeded that, after he had retired to *Genoa*, he would not go with the Gallies to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that the King offering him the Command of the Fleet which

A. D. 1528. which was fitting out at *Marſeilles*, he refuſed it, alledging his Inability through Age to endure any longer ſuch Fatigues. The Origin of ſuch a Reſolution was aſcribed by himſelf and others to various Cauſes. He complained that the King, after he had ſerved him with ſuch great Fidelity for Five Years, had beſtowed the Office of Admiral with the Care of the Seas on M. *Barbeſieux*, as if he thought it proper that the King, after his Refuſal, ſhould make a Reply, and beſeech him to accept of it; that he had not paid him the Twenty Thouſand Ducats for which he was in Arrears, without which he could not maintain his Gallies; that he had declined to ſatisfy his juſt Intreaties to reſtore the *Genoeſe* to their accuſtomed Juriſdiction in *Savona*; and even that it had been debated in the King's Council to have him beheaded, as a Man that proudly uſed his Authority. Others alledged that the Diſputes happening between him and *Renzo da Ceri* in the Enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, in which he fancied that the King hearken'd more to the Report of *Renzo* than to his Juſtification, had been the firſt Origin of his

The Reaſons.

his Indignation; that he was provoked at the great Inſtances made him by the King to deliver him the Priſoners, which he much deſired as an Affair of Importance, eſpecially the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and *Aſcanio Colonna*, though with an Offer to pay their Ranſom. Theſe and other Cauſes were aſſigned, but it was believed ſince that the truer and principal Reaſon was not ſo much his Reſentment againſt the *French*, for not valuing him, as he imagined, according to his Merit, or any other Cauſe of Diſſatisfaction, as his Sollicitude for the Liberty of *Genoa*, in order to promote, under the Name of the Liberty of his Country, his own Greatneſs, which End unable to attain by any other Method, he had reſolved to ſerve the King no longer, nor to aſſiſt him with his Gallies in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, as he was thought to have propoſed the Enterpriſe on *Sardinia* in order to prevent the Acquiſition of *Sicily*. Fixing his Thoughts therefore on this Project, he treated, by the Mediation of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, about entering into the Service of *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the great Hatred which he had for

A. D. 1528.

A. D. 1528. for many Years profeſſed againſt the *Spaniſh* Nation in remembrance of their Sacking of *Genoa*, and the Severity with which he had treated as many of them as fell into his Hands. But proceeding with Diſſimulation his Deſign was not as yet known to the King, who had therefore taken no Care to procure Remedies in ſo important a Caſe, though he had conceived ſome Suſpicion of it. For a Galley was taken which was carrying to *Spain* a *Spaniard*, ſent under a Pretence of the Ranſom of certain Priſoners, about whom was found a credential Letter of *Andrea Doria* to *Cæſar*, though, on account of his great Complaints, he was permitted to continue his Voyage without Examination. At laſt, *Barbeſieux* being arrived with Fourteen Gallies at *Savona*, *Andrea Doria*, in Fear of him, retired with his Gallies to *Genoa*, and with the Priſoners to *Lerice*. As ſoon as the King underſtood what had happened, ſenſible of the Danger when it was become irremediable, he ſent to him *Pierfranceſco da Nocera* to inliſt him anew into his Service, offering by him to ſatisfy his Deſire in the Affair of *Savona*; to pay him

Offers made him.

him Twenty Thouſand Ducats for his Arrears; to pay him Twenty Thouſand more for the Ranſom of the Prince of *Orange*, taken by him at another Time, and afterwards releaſed by the King when he made the Peace with *Cæſar* at *Madrid*; and if he ſhould pleaſe to grant him the Priſoners, he would pay their Ranſom before they came out of his Hands, but if he ſhould refuſe to grant them, the King would not trouble him on that Score. *Doria* lent no Ear to theſe Offers, juſtifying his Separation from the King by Complaints. *A. D.* 1528. rejected.

BARBESIEUX was forced to remain at *Savona*, to the great Detriment of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*; but afterwards advancing farther, he left Five Hundred Foot for the Security of *Genoa*, at the Diſtance of Ten Miles from that City, becauſe the Plague raged in it. And for the ſame Reaſon he landed Thirty Miles from *Genoa* Twelve Hundred *German* Foot newly arrived, who had received their firſt Pay from the *French*, but becauſe the *Venetians* had not paid them Motions of the *French* Fleet.

A D. 1528. the Second, to which they were obliged, it was neceſſary that *Trivulzio*, the Governor of *Genoa*, ſhould provide it.

Pope's Advice concerning *Doria*.

In this Uneaſineſs of *Doria* the Pontiff, apprehending that he treated with *Cæſar*, on the 21ſt of *June* intimated the Affair to *Lautrech*, demanding his Conſent to take him into his own Service for preventing *Cæſar*, and aſſuring him that *Filippino* with the Gallies would within Ten Days ſail away from *Naples*. Wherefore *Lautrech* reſtored to *Filippino*, becauſe he would not exaſperate him, the Secretary *Serenon*, whom he had always kept with him for the Sake of getting Light from him into many ſecret Matters; and yet, out of a Suſpicion before conceived of the Pontiff, he interpreted his Advice in a malignant Senſe.

At laſt *Andrea Doria*, no longer diſſembling his Intentions, though *Barbeſieux*, in paſſing forward with the Fleet, which conſiſted of Nineteen Gallies, Two Pinnaces, and Four Brigantines, with the Prince of *Navarre* on board, had conferred

ferred with him, ſent his Gentleman to *Cæſar*, accompanied by the General of the *Franciſcans*, now created a Cardinal, commiſſioned by the Pontiff to ſettle the Articles of Agreement, which were, in ſubſtance; the Liberty of *Genoa* under the Protection of *Cæſar*; the Subjection of *Savona* to the *Genoeſe*; a Pardon for himſelf, who had been ſo great a Perſecutor of the *Spaniſh* Name; a Reception into the Service of *Cæſar* with Twelve Gallies, and a yearly Salary of Sixty Thouſand Ducats; beſides other very honourable Terms. A. D. 1528.

Articles of Agreement between *Cæſar* and *Doria*.

In conſequence of this Agreement *Filippino*, with all the Gallies, on the 4th Day of *July*, ſet ſail from *Naples*, his Departure, if he was to proceed in the Manner as he had begun, being no way prejudicial to the *French*, except in Reputation, ſince he had for many Days not only kept a bad Guard, but even his own Brigantines had now and then by Stealth conveyed Proviſions into *Naples*; and he himſelf, beſides conferring with ſome of *Naples*, had carried the Children of *Antonio da Leva* from *Naples* to *Gaeta*, and had

Filippino ſails away from *Naples*.

A. D 1528. for many Days lent Aſſiſtance for the Conveyance of Victuals into *Naples*; but if he had ſerved faithfully as he did in the Beginning, the *French* would have received a very great Loſs. *Lautrech* therefore with the more Earneſtneſs ſollicited the Coming of the *French* Squadron, which, by Order of the Pontiff, had, with the higheſt Imprudence, ſtopped to take *Civita Vecchia*.

By the Departure of *Filippino* with the Gallies the *Venetian* Fleet, which had taken the Charge of working on the Intrenchment from the Sea Shore till it met the Trenches of *Pietro Navarra*, was neceſſitated to deſiſt, in order to attend to the Guard of the Sea, to block up which the more effectually, ſome armed Frigates were appointed to cruiſe Day and Night along the Coaſts; greater Diligence was alſo uſed on Land in oppoſing the *Spaniards*, who made Excurſions every Day, but whenever encountered fled away without fighting. Hence *Naples* was reduced to extreme Neceſſity, and the *Germans* proteſted they would depart if they were

Naples in extreme Diſtreſs.

not

not ſoon relieved with Money and Victuals. Wherefore *Lautrech*, ſupporting himſelf in a great meaſure with Hopes on that Account, was perſuaded that, from the Intelligence which he had long held with them Day after Day, they would come over to his Army. A. D. 1528.

BUT on the 15th Day of *July* the *Venetian* Gallies, except thoſe before *Gaeta*, returned to *Calabria* to provide themſelves with Biſcuit; the Port therefore remaining open, there entered *Naples* a Multitude of Frigates laden with all Sorts of Proviſions, except Wine: A very ſeaſonable Relief, for there was not Corn enough in *Naples* to laſt out *July*. But in the Army, into which the Plague was alſo brought by Contagion from the People which came out of *Naples*, the uſual Diſtempers were greatly propagated. *Vaudemont* was near Death, and *Lautrech* lay ill; by whoſe Sickneſs Things being in Confuſion, the Imperialiſts, who ſcoured all the Roads without Obſtacle, carried off the Proviſions that were coming to the Camp, where they were greatly wanted. And yet no

French weakened by Sickneſs and Deſertion.

A. D. 1528. new Levies were made of Light Horſe, nay, *Valerio Orſini*, an Officer of the *Venetians*, with an Hundred Light Horſe, went off from the Army becauſe he was not paid; and the other Light Horſe had Part of them left the Army for want of Pay, and the reſt were rendered unſerviceable by Sickneſs. The *French* Men at Arms were beſtowed in Garriſons in the circumjacent Towns, and the *Gaſcons*, diſperſed over the Country, were buſied in gathering the Harveſt and plundering.

SOME Hopes, however, were placed in the Foot that were ſaid to be on board the Fleet, which, after it had ſtopped above Twenty Days ſince it ſailed from *Livorno*, at laſt arrived on the 18th of *July* with a good Number of Gentlemen, and with Money for the Army, but brought only Eighteen Hundred Foot, for the reſt which it carried had remained ſome of them for the Security of *Genoa*, and others for the Enterpriſe on the Citadel of *Civita Vecchia*. On their Arrival *Lautrech* having ſent ſome Troops to the Shore for receiving the Money, the Gal-

French Fleet arrives.

lies

lies could not come to Land for the Swelling of the Sea. The next Day therefore the Marquis of *Saluzzo* returned thither with his own Lances, and a good Number of *Gaſcons*, *Swiſs*, and *Germans*, beſides the Black Bands. But in their Return they were met by the Imperialiſts, who had marched in a large Body out of *Naples*, and charged ſo vigorouſly that the *French* Horſe turned their Backs, and in their Flight fell in upon their own Foot, ſo as to put them in Diſorder: And Count *Ugo de' Peppoli*, who, ſince the Death of *Oratio Baglione*, had the Command of the *Florentine* Forces, being on Foot with Forty Harquebuſiers at the Diſtance of a Harquebus-ſhot before the Regiment of the Black Bands, was taken Priſoner by the Horſe; and ſuch was the Fury of the Imperialiſts, that, if the Regiment of the Black Bands had not reſtrained them, they would have made a great Slaughter, for they fought, eſpecially the Horſe, extremely well. The *French* had above an Hundred killed, and as many taken, among whom were ſeveral *French* Noblemen juſt landed from the Fleet, beſides

A. D. 1528.

Action to the Diſadvantage of the *French*.

A. D. 1528. *Chandales* Nephew to the Marquis of *Saluzzo*; but the Money was conveyed in Safety. The Diſorder was aſcribed to the *French* Horſe, as much inferior in Valour to thoſe of the Enemy; and this ſunk the Spirits of the Infantry of the Army, who were ſenſible that they could not depend on being ſupported by the Cavalry.

Miſerable State of the *French* Camp.

But the Sickneſs of *Lautrech* had been highly detrimental to the Army; for though he endeavoured to ſupport the Weakneſs of his Body by the Strength of his Mind, yet he could neither inſpect nor provide for all Affairs, which were continually on the Decline. For the Imperialiſts making Excurſions not only provided themſelves with all Neceſſaries, except Wine, which they could not convey, but frequently took away Proviſions from the Army, ſeized the Baggage, and the Fellows that looked after it on the very Ramparts, and Horſes at the Watering-Place; ſo that the Army, which was much diminiſhed by Diſtempers, began to want Neceſſaries, and from beſieging became beſieged, and in danger, if a Guard

Guard had not been ſet at the Paſſes, of having the Foot all run away; and, on the contrary, in *Naples* the Hopes increaſed with the Conveniencies, the *Germans* were no longer tumultuous, and the others gloried in their Sufferings. A. D. 1528.

SUCH manifeſt Dangers proving at laſt too hard for the Obſtinacy of *Lautrech*, who a few Days before had ſent to *France* for a Reinforcement of Six Thouſand Foot to be tranſported by Sea, he ordered *Renzo da Ceri*, who was come with the Fleet, towards *Aquila*, that he might levy Four Thouſand Foot, and Six Hundred Horſe, giving him Bills on the Treaſurer of *Aquila* and the *Abruzzi*; a Reinforcement which *Renzo* engaged to bring to the Camp in a few Days, and which, if provided at firſt, would have been of the higheſt Service. *Lautrech* orders new Levies.

BY the 29th the Roads were ſo broken and ſpoiled as to become almoſt impracticable as far as *Capua*, which the *French* had at their Backs; and the Camp had very few ſound Perſons in it. *Lautrech*, who had been relieved from his Fever, relapſed

A. D. 1528. relapſed into a worſe Diſorder than uſual; the Men at Arms were almoſt all diſperſed into Country Houſes, either becauſe they were ſick, or to refreſh themſelves under that Pretence; and the Foot were almoſt reduced to nothing: And at *Naples* the Plague and other Diſtempers, by which the Foot had been reduced to Seven Thouſand, being on the Decline, it was feared that the Enemy would aſſault the Camp. *Lautrech* therefore ordered the Five Hundred Foot, ſent by *Renzo* after the Defeat of *Simone Romano*, to ſtop for preventing the March of the Enemy from *Calabria* towards *Naples*; he ſent about the Country to raiſe a Thouſand more; he took into Pay the Duke of *Nola* with Two Hundred Light Horſe, and *Rinuccio da Farneſe* with an Hundred, and they promiſed to bring them ſpeedily; he ſent for Two Hundred Stradiotti of the *Venetians* from the Enterpriſe on *Taranto*; he recalled, under grievous Penalties, all the Men at Arms that were in Health, was every Day ſtimulating *Renzo*, and puſhed forward, though late, with very great Eagerneſs and Efficacy all the Proviſions.

His vain Efforts.

By

A. D. 1528.

By the 2d of *Auguſt* there were not ſo much as an Hundred Horſe in the *French* Camp, and the Imperialiſts were every Day making Excurſions up to the Trenches; and the Night before they had ſcaled and ſacked *Somma*, where was a Number of Men at Arms and of Light Horſe. *Lautrech*, therefore, ſeeing himſelf in a manner beſieged, ſollicited *St. Pol* to ſend him ſome Troops by Sea, and the *Florentines* to order the Two Thouſand Foot which they had appointed to ſend to *St. Pol*, to march to his Aſſiſtance; and they readily conſented to it. There died in the Camp *Chandales*, who was at Liberty on his Parole; there lay ill *Navarra*, *Vaudemont*, *Camillo da Trivulzi*, and the new and old Camp-Maſters; *Lautrech* was relapſed; all the Ambaſſadors, all the Secretaries, and all the Men of Note, except *Saluzzo* and Count *Guido*, were ſick, and there was hardly a ſound Perſon in all the Camp. The Foot died of Hunger, and almoſt all the Ciſterns failing they ſuffered alſo for want of Water; nor was the Army capable of any thing but keeping its Station within

Great Mortality and Sickneſs among the *French*.

A. D. 1528. within its Fortifications with a good Guard in expectation of Succours; the Diſorders were increaſed alſo by Negligence. The *Spaniards* alſo broke the Aqueduct of *Poggio Reale*, and, though it was repaired, it was not uſed without great Danger. *Lautrech* expected in Two Days the Duke of *Somma* with Fifteen Hnndred Foot, and in a ſhort time the Abbot of *Farfa*, whom, after he had defeated Biſhop *Colonna*, the General had ſent to call.

Venetian Gallies return ill provided.

At this time returned the Gallies of the *Venetians*, very ill armed, and ſo badly provided with Victuals, that they were obliged to abandon the Care of guarding the Port of *Naples*, and cruiſe on the neighbouring Coaſts for procuring a Subſiſtence.

On the 8th the *Spaniards* returning to *Somma* plundered it anew, and took all the reſt of the Horſe that Count *Guido* had there in Garriſon. They attacked alſo the Convoy of Proviſions eſcorted by Two Hundred *Germans*, who flying into two Houſes baſely ſurrendered; hence frequently there

there was nothing in the Camp to eat. And all theſe Inconveniencies were increaſed by the large Circuit of the Camp, which had been judged too great from the very Beginning: It cauſed Danger, and waſted the Troops by occaſioning too many Actions; and yet *Lautrech*, amuſing himſelf with Hopes of Succours, would not hear any ſpeak of reducing it within narrower Limits; and, though he was not well recovered, he went about and viſited the whole Camp for maintaining Orders and Guards, fearing to be attacked. A. D. 1528.

AFFAIRS declined daily, ſo that on the 15th, through the Superiority of the Imperial Cavalry, there was no longer any Communication between the Camp and the Gallies; nor could thoſe of the Camp make Excurſions out of the Roads for want of Horſe, and not a Night paſſed without giving them two or three Alarms. Wherefore the Men, quite worn out with ſuch great Fatigues and Inconveniencies, were incapable of going on Eſcorts of Proviſions as much as was required; and, for an Aggravation of all the Diſorders, the ſame

A. D. 1528. ſame Night coming the 16th died *Lautrech*, on whoſe Authority and military Skill the whole Service depended, it being verily believed that his great Fatigues renewed his Diſorder.

Death of *Lautrech.*

THE Burden of the Command now reſted on the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, a Man unequal to ſo great a Charge; and, Diſorders multiplying every Day, *Andrea Doria*, in the Service of *Cæſar*, arrived with Twelve Gallies at *Gaeta*, whence the *French* Fleet began to ſlacken their Guard. The Count *di Sarni* about this time with a Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot took *Sarni*, driving away Three Hundred Foot that were quartered there. After this, on the 22d of *Auguſt*, he marched with a greater Force by Night to *Nola*, and took it, *Valerio Orſino*, the Governor, retiring into the Citadel, ſaying, he was deceived by the Peaſants; and having ſent to *Saluzzo* for Succours, he ordered him Two Thouſand Foot, which marching by Night were attacked by the Troops of *Naples*, and routed.

Doria arrives at *Gaeta.*

ON

A. D. 1528.

ON the 22d the Camp, being in a manner without Troops, and without a Commander, was ſupported only by the Hopes of the Coming of *Renzo*, who was ſtill at *Aquila*, and was no longer wanted for taking *Naples*, or from Hopes of being enabled to make a Defence in that Situation, but only for procuring a ſafe Decampment. *Vaudemont* was dead, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, Count *Guido*, Count *Ugo*, and *Pietro Navarra* lay ſick. *Maramaus* having marched out of *Naples* with Four Hundred Foot in order to cut off all Proviſions from the Camp, and found *Capua* in a manner abandoned, took Poſſeſſion of it; for which Reaſon the *French* abandoned *Pozzuolo*, and removed the Garriſon to *Averſa*, a Place of great Importance to the Camp. But *Capua* and *Nola* being loſt, the Army remained in a manner debarred from all Means of getting Proviſions, ſo that being incapable of ſupporting themſelves any longer, as their laſt Shift, they decamped one Night in order to retire into *Averſa*. But their Decamp-

ment

A. D. 1528. ment being perceived by the Imperialiſts, who waited for ſuch an Opportunity, they were attacked and broken on the Road, where *Pietro Navarra*, with many other Chiefs and Men of Condition were taken Priſoners, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with Part of the Troops retired into *Averſa*. Hither he was followed by the Imperialiſts, and being unable to defend himſelf he ſent out Count *Guido Rangone* to parley with the Prince of *Orange*, and by his Mediation capitulated with the Prince, agreeing to ſurrender *Averſa* and its Citadel with the Artillery and Ammunition; that he himſelf ſhould remain a Priſoner, with the reſt of the General Officers, except Count *Guido*, who had his Liberty granted him as a Reward of the Agreement; that the Marquis ſhould uſe his beſt Endeavours to induce the *French* and *Venetians* to reſtore the whole Kingdom; that the Soldiers and others who by this Agreement were to have their Liberty, ſhould leave their Colours, Arms, Horſes, and Effects, granting, however, to thoſe of Diſtinction the Uſe of ſmall Horſes, Pads, Mules, and Beaſts of Burden; and that the

Marquis of *Saluzzo* capitulates with the Imperialiſts.

the *Italian* Soldiers ſhould not ſerve againſt *Cæſar* for Six Months. Thus were all the Troops put to a general Rout, and all the chief Officers either dead, or taken in the Flight, or remained Priſoners by the Capitulation. *Averſa* was ſacked by the Imperial Army, which afterwards retired to *Naples*, demanding Eight Pays. *Renzo*, who the next Day had approached *Capua* with the Prince of *Melfi*, and the Abbot of *Farfa*, appriſed of the Event, retired into the *Abruzzi*, which Province alone, with ſome Towns in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, remained in Subjection to the Confederates. A. D. 1528.

SUCH was the Iſſue of the Enterpriſe on the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had a Multiplicity of Cauſes to diſconcert it, but was reduced to the laſt Degree of Deſpair and Ruin principally by two: One was the Sickneſs, occaſioned in a great meaſure by cutting the Aqueducts of *Poggio Reale*, to deprive thoſe in *Naples* of the Means of grinding their Corn. For the Water diſperſing itſelf over the Plain, and having no Vent, ſtagnated, and corrupted the Air. Cauſes of the Miſcarriage of the Expedition to *Naples*.

A. D. 1528. Air. Hence the *French*, who are intemperate, and impatient of Heat, contracted Diſtempers; to thoſe was added the Plague, the Contagion of which was communicated by ſome infected Perſons ſent out of *Naples* into the Army for that very Purpoſe. The other Cauſe was that *Lautrech*, who had carried with him from *France* the greater Part of the Officers experienced in Wars, being more ſanguine in his Hopes than was convenient, and forgeting that he had, not much to his Honour, when he was employed in defending the State of *Milan*, written to his King that he would prevent the Enemy from paſſing the River *Adda*, had, during this Siege, often written to him that he would take *Naples*. Wherefore, not to make himſelf the Falſifier of his own Judgment, he was obſtinately bent not to raiſe the Siege, contrary to the Opinion of the other Generals, who, ſeeing the Camp full of Diſeaſes, counſelled him to retire to *Capua*, or to ſome other Place of Safety; for, being in Poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole Kingdom, he could neither want Money

Money nor Proviſions, and would have A. D. 1528.
conſumed the Imperialiſts, who were in want of every Thing.

DURING theſe Tranſactions the Affairs of *Lombardy* were not free from Diſquietude; for *St. Pol* having aſſembled his Forces, and provided himſelf with Victuals, took ſome Towns and Caſtles on the other Side of the *Po*, which had before been in the Poſſeſſion of *Antonio da Leva*, who, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, was at *Torreta*, intent on conveying all the Proviſions he could get together into *Milan*; for the Harveſt had been ſo bad in all that State, that it was judged inſufficient to ſubſiſt only the Country People for above Eight Months. After this he retired to *Marignano*, but could not ſtay long in that Place neither, for want of Money. At this time the Duke of *Urbino* was ſtill at *Breſcia*, and *St. Pol* at *Caſtel nuovo di Tortona*, from whence he came to *Piacenza*, and on the 11th Day they had a Conference at *Monticelli* on the *Po*, where it was reſolved that the Armies ſhould join together about *Lodi*. *St. Pol* afterwards paſſed the

Motions of the Army in *Lombardy*.

A. D. 1528. *Po* near *Cremona*, the *Piacentines* conſenting to his taking their Boats for making a Bridge. Wherefore *Antonio da Leva*, who had a Bridge at *Caſciano*, and commanded *Caravaggio* and *Trevi*, removed the Bridge, and abandoned the Places of the *Ghiaradadda*, as he had before abandoned *Novara*; but he had put Seven Hundred Foot into *Pavia*, and Five Hundred into *Sant' Angelo*.

Their Numbers. ST. POL had Four Hundred Lances, Five Hundred Light Horſe, and Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot, in the Liſt of Pay, but thro' his own Negligence, and the Fraud of his Agents, the Number was much leſs. For theſe Forces, and for other *Germans* and *Swiſs* that were expected, the *Venetians* had agreed to pay Twelve Thouſand Ducats monthly to *St. Pol*, who had alſo Three Hundred *Swiſs* at *Turea* paid for Nine Hundred, and Three Thouſand *French* Foot. The *Venetians* had Three Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand Light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot; and the Duke of *Milan* had above Two Thouſand choice Foot.

Leva's

Leva's Force conſiſted of Four Thouſand *Germans*, One Thouſand *Spaniards*, Three Thouſand *Italians*, and Three Hundred Light Horſe. *A. D.* 1528.

THE Troops of the Confederates paſſed the *Adda*, and joined on the 22d of *Auguſt*, *Antonio da Leva* ſtill keeping his Poſt at *Marignano*. From their Camp the Duke of *Urbino* detached Three Thouſand Foot, and Three Hundred Light Horſe, with Six Pieces of Cannon to *Sant' Angelo*, under the Command of *Giovanni di Naldo*, who, in pitching his Camp, was killed by a Cannon Shot; wherefore the Duke repaired thither in Perſon, and made himſelf Maſter of the Place. On the 25th of *Auguſt* the Forces of the Allies encamped at *San Zenone* on the River *Lambro*, two Miles and a Half from *Marignano*. On the 27th they paſſed the *Lambro*, and approached *Marignano*, on which the *Spaniards* retired into *Marignano*, to an old Fortification, and after a Skirmiſh of ſeveral Hours, drew out into the Field, with a Deſign, as it was ſuppoſed, to give Battle; but, after the Cannon Motions of the Allies.

A. D. 1528. non had played from all Quarters for the Space of an Hour, Night approaching, they retired into *Marignano* and *Riozzo*, and made a brave Attack on the Allies, while they were forming their Camp. The next Day *Antonio da Leva* retired with all his Troops to *Milan*, and the Confederates to *Landriano*. After this a Conſultation was held on the Expediency of making an Attempt to force *Milan*, and while the Point was under Debate, the Army put themſelves on a March with a Deſign to enter *Milan* by Surpriſe, which was prevented by a great Rain, that rendered the Road ſo bad, as to obſtruct all Acceſs to the Gate of *Vercelli*, where the Entrance was to be made. Diſappointed therefore of this Deſign, and convinced by the Report of thoſe who had been ſent to reconnoitre *Milan*, that ſuch an Enterpriſe was impracticable, it was reſolved, ſince nothing elſe could be done, to march, by the Road of *Biagraſſa*, to beſiege *Pavia*, in hopes to take it with Eaſe, becauſe the Garriſon conſiſted of no more than Two Hundred *German* and Eight Hundred *Italian* Foot. The Confederates

federates then taking their March that Way, ſome Foot, advancing beyond the *Teſino*, took *Vigevano*, and, on the 9th Day of *September*, *St. Pol* arrived at *Sant' Aleſſo*, Three Miles from *Pavia*, where both the Armies drawing together, arrived Advices which threw them into a greater Diſpute. A. D. 1528.

FOR a very great Plague raging in *Genoa*, which occaſioned that City to be abandoned by almoſt all its Inhabitants, and by the Soldiers, very few of whom remained, and *Teodoro* the Governor himſelf being retired into the Caſtle on account of the ſame Danger, *Andrea Doria*, taking this Opportunity, approached the City with ſome Gallies, tho', as he had no more than Five Hundred Foot, with little Hopes of forcing it. But the *French* Squadron which was in the Port, apprehenſive of having their Paſſage to *France* intercepted, without taking any Care of *Genoa*, ſet Sail for *Savona*, where the firſt that arrived was the Galley of *Barbeſieux*. Hence the City having but few Soldiers in it, tho' *Teodoro* had re-

A. D. 1528. turned to live in the Palace, and the People hating the Name of the *French*, on account of the Injury done them in giving Liberty to *Savona*, *Doria* entered the Place with little Oppoſition.

Andrea Doria gets Poſſeſſion of *Genoa*.

Cauſe of that Loſs to the *French*.

THE Cauſe of ſo great a Loſs was the Negligence, and too great Confidence and Security of the King, who not imagining his Affairs in the Kingdom of *Naples* ſo near to Ruin, and perſuading himſelf that, at all Events, the Retreat of his Fleet to *Genoa*, with the Neighbourhood of *St. Pol*, were ſufficient to ſecure it, omitted making the neceſſary Proviſions in the Place. *Teodoro*, having retired into the Caſtle, demanded Succours of *St. Pol*, giving Hopes of recovering the Town, if there were immediately ſent to him Three Thouſand Foot. The Generals of the Confederates, taking the Point into Conſideration, the *French* were diſpoſed to march thither directly, with the whole Camp, and the Duke of *Urbino* repreſented that to provide themſelves with Boats for laying a Bridge over the *Po*, and with ſufficient Store of Victuals, would

would take up a longer Time than the preſent Neceſſity required. Wherefore it was reſolved, purſuant to his Counſel, that *Montjean* ſhould turn his March from *Aleſſandria* to *Genoa*, with Three Thouſand *German* and *Swiſs* Foot, who were coming from *France* to reinforce *St. Pol*, and were arrived at *Aleſſandria*; and, if he found them unwilling to go, he ſhould conduct them to the Camp, from whence Three Thouſand other Foot ſhould be ſent in their Room; and that, in the mean time, all Diligence ſhould be uſed for ſtraitening *Pavia*: And the *Venetians* gave Aſſurances that, even if *Pavia* ſhould not be taken, they would march with all their Forces to the Relief of *Genoa*, provided they might reſt ſecure of Affairs on that Quarter. A. D. 1528.

THE Siege of *Pavia* was then continued, for which Purpoſe, on the 14th, a Battery of Nine Cannon had been erected by the *Teſino*, on this Side, in a Plain, at the lower Quarters, which played on a Baſtion contiguous to the Arſenal, and in a few Hours reduced it half Siege of *Pavia*.

A. D. 1528. half to Rubbiſh. On the other Side the *Teſino* were planted Three Cannon, for battering a Flank anſwering to the Arſenal, when the Aſſault ſhould be given; and on an Eminence, on this Side the *Teſino*, were Five Cannon, which played at Two other Baſtions, and at the Point of that Eminence were Three others, which battered the Wall; all this Artillery belonging to the *Venetians*, that of *St. Pol* ſerving to ruin the Defences. The next Day *Annibale*, Governor of *Cremona*, had carried a Trench to the Ditch of the Baſtion, on the Side of the Arſenal, which was above Two Thirds beaten down, ſo that the Beſieged had in a manner abandoned it; aud the ſame Day *Malateſta da Sogliano*, a *Venetian* Commander, was killed with a Cannon Ball. The Batteries having thus continued playing all the Day, and the following Night, the Army was prepared to give the Aſſault, ſufficient Breaches being made in the Wall on all Sides of the Three Baſtions. But attempting in the Morning to drain the Ditches of the Water, they found their Work obſtructed by a Wall of ſuch Solidity,

dity, that they ſpent all that Day and alſo the next about it, for the Aſſault was deferred till the 19th, when the Water was almoſt all drained. On that Day the Beſiegers having, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Baſtion at the Corner, began the Aſſault in Three Places, the firſt conſiſting of the *Venetian* Troops, under the Command of *Antonio da Caſtello*; the Second of thoſe of *St. Pol*, led by *de Lorges*; the laſt of the Troops of *Milan*, which were Twelve Hundred Foot, commanded by the Governor of *Cremona*; and the Duke of *Urbino* put himſelf on Foot with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and attacked the Baſtions. The Defendants, conſiſting of Two Hundred *Germans*, and Eight Hundred *Italians*, with a few *Spaniards*, made a brave Reſiſtance for above Two Hours; but being few in Number, tho' they behaved extremely well, they defended themielves with Difficulty, eſpecially as the Artillery planted on the other Side the *Teſino* ſcoured all their Works. In the Aſſault *Pietro da Birago* received a Shot in the Thigh, of which he died a few

A. D. 1528.

A. D. 1528. few Days after, but refuſed to be carried off, that his Men might not abandon the Attack. *Pietro Botticella* was alſo wounded with the Shot of a Harquebuſs, and left the Aſſault; they were both Officers in the Service of the Duke of *Milan*. At laſt, about Two Hours before Night, the Place was entered with little Loſs, and with great Praiſe to the Duke of *Urbino*. Of the Beſieged were killed between Six and Eight Hundred Soldiers, among whom were almoſt all the *Germans*; but when the Army had forced an Entrance, *Galeazzo da Birago*, with all the Soldiers that remained alive, and many of the Townſmen, retired into the Caſtle. The whole City was put to the Sack, but afforded no great Booty, being the poor Remains of Two preceding Sackages. The Caſtle was admitted to capitulate, becauſe it was neceſſary to batter it, and there was no Ammunition in the Camp, and the Ditches were of ſo great a Breadth and Depth, as not to be ſoon filled, and there were Five Hundred diſciplined Men in the Place. The Conditions were, that the *Spaniards*, with what Artillery and Ammunition

Town taken by Storm.

Caſtle ſurrendered on Articles

munition they could draw by Strength of Arm, and with all their Movables, together with the *Germans*, of whom very few remained, ſhould have Leave to depart thence to *Milan*, and the *Italians* to go to any Place, *Milan* excepted. A. D. 1528.

PAVIA being taken, the Duke of *Urbino*'s Counſel was not to think of forcing *Milan*, becauſe ſuch an Enterpriſe required an Army ſufficient for Two Attacks, but to ſtraiten and greatly endamage it by taking *Biagraſſa*, *San Giorgio*, *Moncia*, and *Como*, and to conſider of ſome effectual Means for the Relief of *Genoa*; for tho' the *Germans* and *Swiſs* had anſwered *Montjean* that they were willing to go to *Genoa*, yet the *Germans*, becauſe they were not paid, went away to *Turea*, ſo that no Succour at all was ſent to the Caſtelletto, where *Andrea Doria* was inceſſantly employed in mining. Wherefore *St. Pol* with Two Hundred Lances, and Two Thouſand Foot, which had remained with him, ſet out on the 27th on his March towards *Genoa*, and paſſed the *Po* at *Porto Stella*, in the Mouth of the *Teſino*,

A. D. 1528. *Teſino*, on the Road to *Tortona*, promiſing to return back if he ſhould find that Relief was impracticable; and in the mean time the Duke of *Urbino* was to wait at *Pavia*, with whom had remained Four Thouſand Foot of the *Venetians*, and One Thouſand of the Duke of *Milan*.

St. Pol marches to relieve *Genoa*.

Politic Expedient of *Leva*.

At this Time *Antonio da Leva*, after his Retreat to *Milan*, prohibited all People from making Bread, or keeping Meal in their Houſes, except the Farmers of the Duty on that Commodity, who paid him, for Nine Months ſucceſſively, Three Ducats for every Moggio * of Meal. With this Money he paid, during all that Time, the *Spaniſh* and *German* Horſe and Foot; which Expedient not only defended him from the preſent Danger, but ſupported him all the following Winter, having quartered the *Italian* Infantry in *Novara*, and ſome Towns of the *Lomellina*, and thro' the Villages of the Territory of *Milan*, in which Places he ſuffered them to plunder

* *Moggio*; a Meaſure containing Eight Quarters and a Half *Engliſh*.

plunder and tax the People at Pleaſure all the Winter. A. D. 1528.

ON the Firſt of *October St. Pol* arrived at *Gavi*, Twenty-five Miles diſtant from *Genoa*, having left his Artillery at *Novi*; and the next Day he took the Caſtle of *Borgo de' Fornari*, and having advanced further towards *Genoa*, on Intelligence that Seven Hundred *Corſican* Foot had entered that City, he returned to *Borgo de' Fornari*, not finding himſelf able, for want of Money, to muſter above Four Thouſand Foot in all, comprehending his own Troops, thoſe brought by *Montjean*, and One Thouſand ſent from the Camp under *Nicolo Doria*; and thoſe few that remained were continually paſſing into *France*. Giving over therefore the Enterpriſe as deſperate, he detached *Montjean*, with Three Hundred Foot, to *Savona*, which the *Genoeſe* were beſieging; but they could not enter the Town, becauſe it was blocked up with Trenches, and all the Paſſes about it were ſecured. *St. Pol* therefore, on the 10th of *October*, retired

St Pol fails to ſuccour *Genoa*.

A. D. 1528. retired to *Aleſſandria*, and afterwards to *Senazzara*, between *Aleſſandria* and *Pavia*, to confer with the Duke of *Urbino*, but with ſcarce any Troops left about him. Here conſulting on the public Affairs, and the Duke repreſenting that the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, had not Four thouſand Men left between them, and that *Antonio da Leva* had within *Milan* and abroad Four Thouſand *Germans*, Six Hundred *Spaniards*, and Fourteen Hundred *Italians*, it was reſolved that he ſhould retire into *Pavia*, and *St. Pol* into *Aleſſandria*, for which he had Leave of the Duke of *Milan*. They talked alſo of making all new Levies, and then, if the Times ſerved, of undertaking the Reduction of *Biagraſſa*, *Mortara*, and the Caſtle of *Novara*.

Savona ſurrendered to the *Genoeſe*.

And now the People of *Savona*, ſeeing that *Montjean* could not force his Way into the Town, on the 27th of *October*, agreed to ſurrender, if they were not relieved within a few Days. Wherefore *St. Pol*, deſirous to ſuccour it, but having in all no more than One Thouſand Foot of

of his own, demanded Three Thouſand Foot of the Duke of *Urbino* and of the Duke of *Milan*, who ſent him only Twelve Hundred; ſo that not aſſuring himſelf that he ſhould be able to ſuccour the Place with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, he ſuffered it to be loſt, and the *Genoeſe* taking Poſſeſſion, immediately filled up the Port with Loads of Stones, in order to render it uſeleſs. *A. D.* 1528.

ABOUT the ſame time, alſo, *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, deſpairing of Relief, and quite exhauſted of Money, ſurrendered upon Articles the Caſtelletto of *Genoa*, which the Populace, in their Fury, levelled with the Earth; and the *Genoeſe*, with the Authority of *Andrea Doria*, eſtabliſhed in that City a new Government, before debated, under the Name of Liberty. The Sum of it was, That a Council of Four Hundred Citizens ſhould have the Power of creating all the Magiſtrates and Officers of Dignity of their City, and eſpecially the Doge, and the ſupreme Magiſtracy for the Term of Two Years, taking off the Prohibition from the No- Revolution in *Genoa*.

A. D. 1528. bility, who had before been excluded from it by Law. And it being a fundamental Point, of the greateſt Importance for the Preſervation of Liberty, to provide againſt the Diviſions of the Citizens, which had been, for a long Time, greater and more pernicious than in any other City in *Italy*, ſince there had not been only one Diviſion, but a Party of the *Guelfs*, and an oppoſite one of the *Ghibellins*, and a Faction of the Nobility in oppoſition to another of the Commonalty, and the Commonalty alſo not all of one Mind among themſelves, beſides two very powerful Parties of the *Adorni* and *Fregoſi*; by which Diviſions there was good Reaſon to think that their City, which, by the Conveniency of its Situation, and the Skilfulneſs of its People in Naval Affairs, appears qualified above all for maritime Empire, had been depreſſed, and for a long Time kept in almoſt continual Subjection; therefore, in order to come at the Roots of theſe Evils, they ſuppreſſed all the Names of the Families and of the Houſes of the City, preſerving only the Names of Twenty-eight of the moſt illuſtrious, except the *Adornian*

Adornian and the *Fregoſian*, which were utterly extinguiſhed *. Into the Name and Number of theſe Families they adopted all thoſe Nobles and Commons that remained without a Name of a Houſe, taking Care, for the more effectual Confuſion of the Memory of the Factions, to incorporate the Nobles into Families of the Commons, and the Commons into Noble Families, thoſe who had heen Partiſans of the *Adorni* into Houſes which had favoured the *Fregoſi*, and, on the contrary, the Followers of the *Fregoſi* among ſuch as had been devoted to the *Adorni*. It was alſo ordered that there ſhould be no Diſtinction between them by prohibiting one more than another from Acceſs to Honour, or Places in the Government. By this Confuſion of Perſons and Names they were in Hopes that, in no long Proceſs of Time, the peſtilent Memory of the Factions would be aboliſhed, preſerving in the mean while the greateſt Reſpect to the Authority of *Andrea Doria*, without whoſe Conſent, on account A. D. 1528.

* The *Fregoſi*, *Adorni*, and others, have ſince reſumed their former Names.

A. D. 1528. of his perſonal Reputation, and of the Command with which he was entruſted by *Cæſar* of the Gallies, which, at ſuch times as they were not employed, had their Station in the Port of *Genoa*, no Reſolution ſhould be taken in weightier Matters, his Power and Greatneſs cauſing the leſs Uneaſineſs, becauſe he had no Hand in the Adminiſtration of the Finances, nor intermeddled in the Election of a Doge or other Magiſtrates, nor in private or leſſer Concerns; ſo that the Citizens being at Reſt, and more intent on Commerce than Ambition, remembering eſpecially their paſt Sufferings and Dependencies, had reaſon to be in Love with that Form of Government. After this the *French* Fleet, and that of *Andrea Doria* had an Engagement between *Monaco* and *Nizza*, in which one of *Doria*'s Gallies was ſunk.

AFTER the Loſs of *Genoa* the Duke of *Urbino* and *St. Pol* had a new Conference at *Senare*, between *Aleſſandria* and *Pavia*, where the Duke, not much to the Satisfaction of *Franceſco Sforza* and *St. Pol*,

Pol, reſolved to remove beyond the *Adda*, leaving the Care of *Pavia* to the Duke of *Milan*, and adviſing *St. Pol* to take up his Winter Quarters in *Aleſſandria*. This Conduct of his was not only diſreliſhed by the *French* Officers, but the King himſelf, who would not accept any ſlight Excuſes given him by the *Venetians*, made heavy Complaints that they had not given Succours to the Caſtelletto of *Genoa*, and to the City of *Savona*, which the *Genoeſe* were ruining. *St. Pol* afterwards received a Reinforcement of One Thouſand *German* Foot, which, with the One Thouſand under *Villecerre* in the *Lomellina*, made up Four Thouſand Foot.

A. D. 1528.

French diſſatisfied with the *Venetians*.

At this Time aroſe ſome Commotions in the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*; for after the Death of the Marquis *Michelantonio*, the Government being aſſumed by *Franceſco Monſignore*, a younger Brother, who had entered upon the Adminiſtration, becauſe *Gabriello*, the ſecond Son †, had, even during the Life of his elder

Civil War in the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*.

† The next Brother to the Deceaſed.

A. D. 1528. Brother, been confined in the Caſtle of *Ravel*, by Order of the Mother, who had the Tutelage of her Sons during their Minority, under a Pretence of Lunacy, the Governor of *Ravel* ſet at Liberty *Gabriello*, who, ſeizing on the Mother that kept him Priſoner, acquired, with the Good Will of the People, the whole State. But his Brother, who had betaken himſelf to Flight, ſoon after entered into *Carmagnuola*, and aſſembling ſome Troops defeated *Gabriello*.

NOTHING farther of any Moment happened this Year in *Lombardy*, except an Incurſion of Count *Gajazzo* as far as *Milan*, becauſe the *Venetians* did not furniſh *St. Pol* with the Foot, as they had promiſed, for the Attack of *Serravalle*, *Gavi*, and other Places belonging to the *Genoeſe*. An Action of Importance was however attempted; for *Montjean* and *Villecerre* put themſelves on a March, Two Hours before Night, from *Virade*, with Two Thouſand Foot, and Fifty Horſe, in order to ſurpriſe *Andrea Doria* in his Palace, which was by the Sea-

ſide,

ſide, and almoſt contiguous to the Walls of *Genoa*. This Deſign did not take Effect, becauſe the Foot, being tired with the Length of the Way, which was Twenty-two Miles, did not arrive in the Night, but after ſome Hours of Daylight, which giving an Alarm, *Andrea Doria* conveyed himſelf out at a Back-door, and leaping into a Boat, eſcaped the Danger; and the *French*, after performing no other Exploit than plundering the Palace, retired in Safety: And Count *Gajazzo*, laying an Ambuſcade between *Milan* and *Moncia*, routed Five Hundred *Germans*, and One Hundred Light Horſe, that were marching to eſcort ſome Proviſions; tho' afterwards, being ſent by the *Venetians* to *Bergamo*, he ſo plagued that City with robbing and plundering, that the Senate, who had conſtituted him Captain General of their Infantry, no longer able to endure ſuch great Inſolence and Avarice, turned him out of their Service with Diſgrace.

A. D. 1528.

Attempt to ſurpriſe *Doria* miſcarries.

A. D. 1528.

AT this Time the *Spaniards* took *Vigevano*, and *Belgiojoſo*, who had eſcaped out of the Hands of the *French*, being ſent by *Antonio da Leva* with Two Thouſand Foot to ſurpriſe *Pavia*, which had a Garriſon of Five Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*, preſenting himſelf one Night at the Walls was diſcovered, and conſtrained to retire without Succeſs.

Deſign to ſurpriſe *Pavia* fruitleſs.

MUCH abous this Time alſo arrived at *Genoa* Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, ſent by *Cæſar* from *Spain*, either for Defence of *Genoa*, or to march to *Milan*, as Neceſſity required, and *Belgiojoſo* went to conduct them. *St. Pol* prepared to prevent the Coming of theſe Foot, who made as if they would take the Road either to *Caſale* or to *Piacenza*, and inſiſted that the *Venetians* ſhould poſt themſelves with a good Body of Forces at *Lodi*, to prevent them from being ſupported by the Enemy from *Milan*; and he endeavoured alſo to perſuade them to undertake jointly an Enterpriſe upon *Milan*, being ęucouraged by the Wants and Deſpair of that

that People, which the Duke of *Urbino* diſſuaded. But the *Venetians* proceeded but coldly on Actions that required Vigour, and more eſpecially at that Time, becauſe, on the Report of *Andrea Navagiero*, their Ambaſſador returned from *Spain*, made in favour of *Cæſar*, and from ſome Negotiations which were held in *Rome* by the *Cæſarean* Ambaſſador, there were various Opinions in their Senate, many of the Members inclining to make an Agreement with *Cæſar*, but at laſt it was agreed to continue in Confederacy with the King of *France*.

A. D. 1528.

Venetians backward in proſecuting the War.

TORNIELLO now paſſing the *Teſino* with Two Thouſand Foot took *Baſignana*, and was proceeding towards the *Lomellina*; and the Abbot of *Forſa* having marched, with his Horſe, to *Creſcentino*, a Place of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, was attacked in the Night and routed, himſelf being taken Priſoner, but delivered by Help of the Marquis of *Monferrato*; and the Marquis of *Mus* defeated ſome Troops of *Antonio da Leva*, and took their Cannon.

Actions of Parties.

IT

A. D. 1528.

IT was doubted that the Pontiff inclined to the Party of *Cæſar*, becauſe the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, being arrived at *Naples*, cauſed the Three Cardinals who were kept there as Hoſtages to be ſet at Liberty; and it was ſaid that he had Orders from *Cæſar* to cauſe Reſtitution to be made of *Oſtia* and *Civita Vecchia*: By means of that Cardinal alſo, who had interceded with the Pontiff about it, *Andrea Doria* reſtored *Portercole* to the *Seneſe*. But it was diſcovered more and more every Day, that the Pontiff had his Mind intent on Innovations, becauſe at his Inſtigation, tho' ſecretly, *Braccio Baglione* moleſted *Malateſta* in the Adminiſtration of *Perugia*, tho' he was in his Pay; and being informed that the Duke of *Ferrara* was come to *Modena*, he endeavoured to take him in his Return by an Ambuſcade of Two Hundred Horſe, laid by *Paolo Luzzaſco*, at *Caſa de' Coppi*, in the *Modeneſe*; but the Duke not ſetting out, the Plot was diſcovered.

Pope meditates Innovations,

THE

A. D. 1528.

THE Kingdom of *Naples* was not at this Time entirely freed, by the Defeat of the *French*, from the Calamities of War; for *Simone Romano*, aſſembling new Forces, took *Navo*, *Oriolo*, and *Amigdalara*, Towns ſituated by the Sea, on a Branch of the *Appennine*; and being joined by *Federigo Caraffa*, who was ſent from the Duke of *Gravina* with One Thouſand Foot, and by many others of the Country, was at the Head of no contemptible Army. But, after the Victory of the Imperialiſts about *Naples*, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the Troops of the Duke of *Gravina*, having ſacked *Barletta*, into which City he was introduced through the Caſtle, he ſtayed there; *Camillo* and *Giancurrado*, both of the Family of the *Orſini*, at the ſame time keeping Poſſeſſion, the firſt of *Trani*, and the other of *Monopoli* for the *Venetians*. After this came thither, with One Thouſand Foot, *Renzo da Ceri*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, who having retired between *Nocera* and *Gualdo*, and afterwards broke up from thence by Orders of the Pontiff, who was unwilling to offend the Conquerors,

War maintained in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

A. D. 1528. Conquerors, embarked at *Sinigaglia*, and went by Sea to *Barletta*, with a Deſign to renew the War in *Puglia*, purſuant to a Reſolution taken by common Conſent of the Confederates, that the Imperial Army might be neceſſitated to ſtay in the Kingdom of *Naples* till Spring, againſt which Time they talked of making new Proviſions for the common Safety. Wherefore the King of *France* ſent *Renzo* a Supply of Money, and the *Venetians*, who had alſo the ſame Deſire, that they might the more eaſily keep Poſſeſſion, by the Aſſiſtance of others, of the Towns which they held in *Puglia*, offered to accommodate him with Twelve Gallies; but the King inſiſting that they ſhould equip them, and that the Coſt ſhould be computed in the Eighty Thouſand Ducats which they were bound to contribute by Engagement contracted with *Lautrech*, they would hearken to no ſuch Thing. The King of *England* promiſed not to be wanting in the ordinary Proviſions, and the *Florentines* had compounded to pay One Third of the Troops which *Renzo* had conducted thither.

A. D. 1528.

THE Imperialiſts were not in ſufficient Readineſs to extinguiſh this Combuſtion, being employed in exacting Money to ſatisfy the Soldiers for their Arrears. To render the Exactions eaſier, and to ſecure the Kingdom by Examples of Severity, the Prince cauſed to be publickly beheaded in the Market-place of *Naples*, where the Plague was violently raging, *Federigo Gaetano*, Son of the Duke of *Trajetto*, and *Enrico Pandone*, Duke of *Boviano*, born of a Daughter of old *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and four other *Neapolitans*, exerciſing alſo the like Severities in other Places of the Kingdom; by theſe Examples ſtriking a general Terror, proceeding againſt the Abſent, who had followed the *French*, and confiſcating their Goods, for which afterwards Compoſition was made in Money, and omitting no Severity by which they might exact the greater Quantity of it. Theſe Affairs were all directed by the Counſel of *Geronimo Morone*, who had the Dutchy of *Boviano* beſtowed on him in Reward of his Services.

Executions in *Naples*.

BESIDES

A. D. 1528.

BESIDES theſe Movements *Gianjacopo Franco*, in the *Abruzzi*, took Poſſeſſion for the King of *France* of *Matrice* in the Neighbourhood of *Aquila*, which was followed by a general Inſurrection of the Country, and *Aquila* itſelf, where *Sciarra Colonna* lay ſick with Six Hundred Foot, was not free from a Suſpicion of an Inclination to revolt. The *Venetians* alſo provided for the Affairs of *Puglia*, and ſending by Sea ſome Light Horſe to ſupply *Barletta*, Part of the Veſſels that conveyed them were caſt away; where the Proveditor getting into a Boat, it overſet, and he was drowned; the Horſe which were commanded by *Giancurrado Orſino*, much weatherbeaten, fell into the Hands of the Imperialiſts, and *Giampaolo da Ceri*, caſt on the Shore near *Guaſto*, was made a Priſoner by the Marquis. At the End of this Year *Aquila* revolted to the League, by means of the Biſhop of that City, and of the Count *di Montorio*, and other Exiles, becauſe it had been ill treated by the Imperialiſts.

Venetians ſhipwrecked.

Aquila revolts.

Now

A. D. 1529.

Now follows the Year 1529, in the Beginning of which there began to appear ſome Indication of a Diſpoſition in all Parties to Peace, ſhewing themſelves willing to have it negotiated in the Court of the Pontiff. For it being known that the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* (ſo was the *Spaniſh* General intitled) was coming to *Rome*, with full Powers from *Cæſar* to conclude a Peace, the King of *France*, who was heartily deſirous of it, diſpatched Orders to his Ambaſſadors, and the King of *England* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* for the ſame Purpoſe. Theſe Negotiations, together with the Remiſſneſs of the Princes, who were tired of the War, was the Cauſe that the Confederates proceeded but ſlowly in their military Preparations. For in *Lombardy* the moſt material Concern was, whether the *Spaniards* arrived at *Genoa* would be able to make their Way to *Milan*, from whence almoſt all the *Germans* were departed for want of Money. And *Belgiojoſo*, who was to conduct theſe *Spaniards*, being come, with One Hundred Horſe, as far as

Diſpoſitions to Peace.

War remiſs in *Lombardy*.

A. D. 1529. as *Caseè*, paſſed from thence in Diſguiſe to *Genoa*. From thence he conducted the *Spaniards* to *Savona*, to be joined by Five Hundred Foot, newly arrived from *Spain*, and landed at *Villa Franca*.

BUT in the Kingdom of *Naples* the Imperialiſts, apprehending that the Rebellion of *Aquila* and *Matrice*, and the Enemy's making Head in *Puglia* might produce Effects of greater Moment, determined to employ thoſe Troops which they had with them in reducing theſe Places. Wherefore it was reſolved that the Marquis *del Guaſto* ſhould march with the *Spaniſh* Foot to recover the Towns in *Puglia*, and the Prince of *Orange*, with the *German* Foot, was to go againſt *Aquila* and *Matrice*. As ſoon as the Prince approached *Aquila*, thoſe in Garriſon marched away, and *Orange* compounded with the City and its Territory for One Hundred Thouſand Ducats: He took away alſo the Silver Shrine which *Lewis* X. King of *France* had dedicated to *St. Bernardino*. From hence he detached ſome Troops to *Matrice*, where *Camillo Pardo* commanded

commanded with a Garriſon of Four Hundred Men. But he was gone a few Days before, with a Promiſe to return; but, either out of Fear becauſe there was no Wine in the Town, and their Water was cut off, and the Inhabitants and Soldiers were at Variance, or for ſome other Reaſon, he did not only not return, but alſo kept back ſome of the Money which the *Florentines* had ſent him for maintaining that Place; the Soldiers therefore marched away over the Walls, and the Town ſurrendered. A. D. 1529.

Aquila and *Matrice* recovered by the Imperialiſts.

FROM ſuch proſperous Succeſſes it was feared that *Orange* would paſs into *Tuſcany*, at the Inſtances of the Pontiff, who being recovered from a very dangerous, tho' ſhort, Diſorder, did not deſiſt from negotiating, and giving Hopes to all Parties. For he promiſed the *French* to adhere to the League, if *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were reſtored to him, offering alſo to compound, on honourable Conditions, with the *Florentines*, and with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who in the Payment of Money which he had before made to *Lautrech*,

A. D. 1529. *trech*, had assured him that he paid him out of meer Liberality, and not because he was bound to it, for the Pontiff had not ratified. On the other Side, having recovered, tho' with great Presents and Expences, the Castles of *Ostia* and *Civita Vecchia*, by means of the Commission brought by the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, he had held more sound and more sincere Negotiations with *Cæsar*, treating together more about private Concerns, which began to be managed with more Secrecy, and on a better Foundation, than of the universal Business of Peace.

Pope inclines to *Cæsar*.

But in *Puglia* the State of Affairs stood thus: *Barletta* held out for the King of *France* under the Government of *Renzo da Ceri*, who had with him the Prince of *Melfi*, *Federigo Caraffa*, *Simone Romano*, *Camillo Pardo*, *Galeazzo da Farnese*, *Giancurrado Orsino*, and the Prince of *Stigliano*. The *Venetians* were in Possession of *Trani*, *Pulignano*, and *Monopoli*, having in those Places Two Thousand Foot,

Foot, and Six Hundred Cappelletti*, of which Two Hundred were in *Monopoli*; they had alſo the Command of the Port of *Bieſtri*. But the King of *France*, after he had ſent a ſmall Sum of Money in the Beginning, made no Proviſion for theſe Towns, nor had he accepted of the Squadron of Twelve Gallies offered him by the *Venetians*, of which Three Gallies and a large Pinnace, bound for *Trani* and *Monopoli* with Proviſions, were caſt away on the Coaſt of *Beſtrice*, and at ſeveral Times they had loſt Five; but ſaved the Cannon and Stores. There held out alſo for the *French*, *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, *Nardoa* in the Territory of *Otranto*, and *Caſtro*, in which was Count *Dugento*. And the War being carried on by the Men of the Kingdom, and by the Forces of the Country, many Bodies of Rebels of *Cæſar*, and many that followed the War, only as Soldiers of Fortune, for the Sake of Plunder, were aſſembled in various Places, ſo that the Condition of the A. D. 1529.

* *Albanian*, or *Greek*, Light Horſe, ſo called from *Cappelletto*, a kind of little Cap they wore.

A. D. 1529. Country was miſerable beyond Belief, being all expoſed to Robberies, Pillaging, Taxations and Burnings from all Parties. But more famous than others for Incurſions was *Simone Romano*, who, with his Light Horſe, and Two Hundred and Fifty Foot, ſcouring all the circumjacent Places, frequently brought into *Barletta* Cattle, Corn, and other Things of all Sorts, ſometimes by Stealth, ſometimes by Force, getting into and ſacking this, and then another Town; as it happened to *Canoſa*, into which entering by Night with Scaling-ladders, he plundered it, and carried off a Number of Horſes belonging to Forty Men at Arms quartered in the Caſtle.

Siege of *Monopoli.*

At laſt the Marquis *del Guaſto*, not attempting *Barletta*, a very ſtrong and well fortified Town, in the Month of *March* laid Siege to *Monopoli*, in which were *Camillo Orſino*, and *Giovanni Vitturio* the Proveditor. His Force conſiſted of Four Thouſand *Spaniſh* and Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot, for the *Germans*, in Number Two Thouſand Five Hundred,

dred, had halted in the *Abruzzi*, and refuſed to march into *Puglia*. The Marquis encampod in a little Valley covered by a Mountain, ſo that he could not be annoyed by the Cannon of the Place, into which *Renzo* immediately conveyed by Gallies Three Hundred Foot. *Monopoli*, a Town of a very ſmall Circuit, has the Sea on Three Sides, and towards the Land a Wall of Three Hundred or Three Hundred and Fifty Paces, ſurrounded by a Ditch. Over againſt the Wall, within Harquebus Shot, the Marquis erected a Redoubt, and Two others on the Sea-ſhore, one on each Side, but at ſuch a Diſtance that they commanded the Sea, and the Gate towards the Sea, to prevent the Gallies from importing Succours of Men or Proviſions. In the Beginning of *April* the Marquis gave the Aſſault to *Monopoli*, in which he loſt above Five Hundred Men, and a great Number of Pioneers, had Three Pieces of Cannon broken, and was forced to retreat to the Diſtance of a Mile and a Half, ſuffering greatly from the Artillery of the Place. The *Venetians* then made a Sally, ſcoured all his Redoubts,

A. D. 1529.

A D. 1529 and killed above One Hundred Men, having ſecured the Port by a Redoubt erected on the Shore over againſt that of the Enemy. *Guaſto* however renewed his Approaches to *Monopoli*, where he erected Two Cavaliers, to batter the Inſide of the Town, and drew Trenches to be carried on to the Ditch, which was to be filled up with Six Hundred Loads of Faſcines. But the Beſieged ſoon after made a Sally with Two Hundred Men, and burnt the Redoubt. The Marquis then carried on a Trench at the Right of the Battery, and drew another Trench, at the Right of the Lodgment of the *Spaniards*, within a Stone's-caſt of the Ditch, behind which he caſt up a Redoubt, and planted Cannon on it, with which he made a Breach in the Wall Sixty Braces wide, and about Four Braces from the Ground; but, on Advice that a new Supply of Troops, ſent by *Renzo*, had entered the Place in the Night, he drew off his Artillery, and at laſt, towards the End of *May*, raiſed the Siege.

Siege raiſed.

WHILE

A. D. 1529.

Actions of Parties.

WHILE the Marquis lay before *Monopoli*, and after his Retreat, happened various Actions and Movements; for the Garriſon of *Barletta* made Excurſions, and plundered the Country, and did a vaſt deal of Damage; and the Troops which were in *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, commanded by *Federigo Caraffa*, took *San Severo*, and forced the Imperialiſts, who had beſieged the Town of *Vico*, to raiſe the Siege. After this *Caraffa* went by Sea with Twenty-ſix Sail to *Lanciano*, in which were quartered One Hundred and Sixty Men at Arms, and, entering by Force, carried off Three Hundred ſerviceable Horſes, and a great deal of Plunder, but left no Garriſon in the Place. Numbers of Exiles alſo committed very great Ravages in the *Baſilicata*; by which Difficulties the Imperialiſts were greatly obſtructed in levying the Taxes, and it is not to be doubted that if the King of *France* had ſent Money and ſome Succours of Troops, there would have aroſe new Troubles and Commotions throughout the Kingdom, which would at leaſt have employ-

A D. 1529. the *Cæſarean* Army in Defence of their own State. But it was impoſſible for diſorderly and undiſciplined Troops, promiſcuouſly got together, to effect, at laſt, any thing of great Conſequence, ſince they were without Succours or freſh Supplies; for only the *Florentines* gave *Renzo* ſome Aſſiſtance; and the Duke of *Ferrara* even denied *Renzo*'s Requeſt to ſend him by Sea Four Pieces of Cannon; and now Corn and Money began to be wanted in *Barletta*, and about Six Hundred of the Revolters, beſieged by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of *Calabria* in *Montelione*, being neceſſitated to ſurrender for Want of Ammunition and Proviſions, were led Priſoners to *Naples*. After this the Prince of *Melfi* went with the Fleet, and *Federigo Caraffa* by Land, to beſiege *Malfetta*, a Town formerly belonging to the Prince, where *Federigo* in the Attack was killed with a Stone; which ſo provoked the Prince that he took the Town by Storm, and plundered it. The like Misfortune happened to *Simone Romano*; for the *Venetian* Fleet, which from the Cape of *Otranto* infeſted all the Country, approach-

Caraffa and *Simone Romano* killed.

approaching *Brindiſi* landed ſome Troops, and with them *Simone Romano*, which took Poſſeſſion of the City, but in attacking the Caſtle *Simone* was killed by a Cannon Ball. A. D. 1529.

WHILE the Troubles continued in the Kingdom of *Naples* with various Succeſs, Affairs were in no peaceful Situation in *Lombardy*. For *St. Pol* at the End of *March* took *Serravalle* by Storm, and the Caſtle agreed to ſtand neuter; but, the Enemies having repoſſeſſed themſelves of the Place by Surpriſe in the Night, it was feared that the *Spaniards* could no longer be prevented, by blocking up the Paſſage, from marching to *Milan*; eſpecially conſidering that the Troops diminiſhed every Day for want of Money, but little coming from the King, and of that ſmall Matter the General, who was a Man of very little Management, ſpent one Part upon himſelf, and the other was embezzled by the Officers. Affairs of *Lombardy*.

IT was a Diſpute between the King and the *Venetians* what Enterpriſe was fitteſt to be

A. D. 1529

be undertaken: The King inſiſted on that of *Genoa* from the Importance of that City, eſpecially ſince it was reported for certain that *Cæſar* would next Summer paſs into *Italy*; and becauſe he knew that the *Venetians* had not lent the leaſt Aſſiſtance either for the Relief or Recovery of that City, though they alledged in Excuſe the Rumour of the Coming of a freſh Body of *Germans* into *Italy*, he doubted they would be ſorry at his Succeſs in that Undertaking. But the *Venetians* repreſenting that *Antonio da Leva* had very few Troops left about him, and offering, as ſoon as *Milan* was acquired, to ſend their Troops to aſſiſt in the Conqueſt of *Genoa*, it was reſolved with the King's Conſent to make an Attempt on *Milan* with Sixteen Thouſand Men, each Party to be at half the Charges. This Reſolution was taken in *March*, in the Abſence of the Duke of *Urbino*, who, on account of the Approach of the Prince of *Orange* and the *German* Foot to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had, almoſt contrary to the Will of the *Venetians*, retired into his own State.

State. But the Senate took him again into their Service on the ſame Conditions as they had formerly granted to Count *Pitigliano*, and *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and ſent him Three Hundred Horſe and Three Three Thouſand Foot for his Defence, according to their Obligation, and gave the Title of Governor to *Janus Fregoſo*. *A. D.* 1529. Duke of *Urbino* Captain General of the *Venetians*.

THE *Venetian* Army conſiſted of Six Hundred Men at Arms, a Thouſand Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot, though they were bound to keep on foot Twelve Thouſand. This Army on the 6th of *April* took *Caſciano* by Storm, and the Caſtle at Diſcretion; *Antonio da Leva* and *Torniello* marched out of *Milan* to make a Diverſion, but retired without effecting any thing to the Purpoſe. The Paſſage of the *Spaniards* from the Territories of the *Genoeſe* to *Milan*, for the Prevention of which ſo many Debates and Conſultations had been held, at laſt ſucceeded. For *St. Pol* and the *Venetians* believing that they would attempt a Paſſage through the *Tortoneſe* and the *Aleſſandrian*, they ſet out from *Voſtaggio*, and took, by the Direction of *Belgiojoſo*, *Spaniards* paſs from *Genoa* to *Milan*.

A. D. 1529. *Belgiojoſo*, a longer Way by the Mountain of *Piacenza*, and Places ſubject to the Church; and being arrived at *Varzi* in the ſaid Mountain, though *St. Pol* had ſent thither an Hundred and Fifty Horſe, and had given Notice of their March at *Lodi*, and to the *Venetians*, who, in order to oppoſe them, ſent Part of their Troops to the Duke of *Milan*, but later by a Day than Neceſſity required, and in a leſſer Number than they had promiſed, they paſſed the *Po* in the Night at *Arena*, making uſe of the Boats of *Piacenza*, nothing now being capable of obſtructing their Conjunction with *Leva*, who, to facilitate it, was advanced to *Landriano*, Twelve Miles from *Pavia*, where they joined him, and were conducted to *Milan*, being ſo bare of every thing as to deſerve the Name of *Shabbroons*, and increaſing the Calamities of the *Milaneſe*, whom they robbed and ſtripped in the very Streets. Thus were fruſtrated the Projects that the *French* and *Venetians* had formed for the whole Winter, which were, to ſtop the Paſſage of theſe Troops, to take *Gavi*, and the circumjacent Places belonging to *Genoa*,

Genoa, and to make themſelves Maſters of *Caſé*, a Fortreſs which did great Damages to all the Country; moreover *Antonio da Leva* took Poſſeſſion of *Binaſco* by Capitulation. *A. D.* 1529.

BUT as the *Spaniards* had been accommodated with Boats from *Piacenza*, and it was believed that they would not have moved if they had not received Aſſurances that they might, in caſe of Neceſſity, retire into that City, theſe, added to many other Indications, and eſpecially the Reſtitution of the Fortreſſes, increaſed in the Confederates a Suſpicion that the Pontiff had agreed, or was ready to agree with *Cæſar*. He had indeed ſecretly turned all his Thoughts on the Recovery of the State of *Florence*, and though he circumvented the *French* Ambaſſadors with holding various Negotiations, and amuſing with various Hopes both them and the other Confederates of his adhering to the League, yet moved, partly by the Fear of *Cæſar*'s Greatneſs, and of the Proſperity of his Undertakings, and partly by the Hopes of more eaſily inducing him, than he would have

Pope ſeeks the Reſtoration of his Family to *Florence*.

A. D. 1529. have induced the King of *France*, to reſtore his Family to *Florence*, he had a greater Inclination to *Cæſar* than to the King. He was alſo extremely deſirous, for facilitating this Deſign, to reduce to his Devotion the State of *Perugia*; wherefore he was ſuppoſed to have given Encouragement to *Braccio Baglione*, who was continually attempting new Diſturbances in thoſe Borders.

Malateſta quits the Pope's Service.

FROM this Suſpicion *Malateſta* doubting that, while he continued in his Pay, he ſhould come to be oppreſſed with his Favour, thought it neceſſary to look out for another Protection. Wherefore moved either by this Cauſe, or from a Deſire of making a better Bargain, or out of an old Spleen, he refuſed to agree with him for another Term, pretending that he was not bound to a Year's Warning, becauſe, as he ſaid, there was no Writing to ſhew, though the Pontiff affirmed that he was obliged to it. He treated therefore about entering into the Service of the King of *France*, and of the *Florentines*, complaining alſo of the Intrigues carried on by the Cardinal of

Cortona

Cortona againſt him, and of a Letter which had been intercepted from the Cardinal *de' Medici* to *Braccio Baglione*. But the Pontiff, being willing indirectly to interrupt that Bargain, publiſhed an Edict forbidding all his Subjects to take Pay of any other Prince, without his Leave, under Penalty of Confiſcation. This, however, did not deter *Malateſta* from executing his Deſign, the *French* obliging themſelves to give him a Regiment of Two Hundred Horſe, with Two Thouſand Crowns Salary, the Order of *St. Michael*, and the Command of Two Thouſand Foot in Time of War: And the *Florentines* gave him the Title of Governor, Two Thouſand Crowns Salary, with the Command of a Thouſand Foot in Time of War, of Fifty Horſe to his Son, and Fifty to the Son of *Oratio*, with Five Hundred Crowns for the Table of them both; they took under their Protection his State, and that of *Perugia*, and, between the King of *France* and them, allowed him an Hundred Crowns a Month in time of Peace for entertaining Ten Captains. The *Florentines* paid him alſo for Two Hundred Foot for the Guard

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of

A. D. 1529. of *Perugia*, while he, on his Part, obliged himſelf, whenever their Affairs required, to march for their Service with a Thouſand Foot, even though he ſhould not have with him the Troops promiſed by the *French*. The Pontiff made great Complaints to the King of *France* of this Enliſtment, as made directly to prevent him from exerciſing the Power of diſpoſing at his Pleaſure of a City in Subjection to the Church. The King, unwilling to offend him, delayed to ratify it, and the Pontiff hoping, on that account, to divert *Malateſta*, perſuaded him to ſtay out the Year's Warning, and at the ſame time privately inſtigated *Braccio Baglione*, *Sciarra Colonna*, and the Exiles of *Perugia*, who had aſſembled ſome Troops, and were encamped at *Norcia*. But all theſe Meaſures were taken in vain, for *Malateſta* was reſolved not to continue in the Service of the Pontiff, and, the *Florentines* openly aſſiſting him, he was under no Apprehenſions from theſe Movements, which the Pontiff, not finding them to anſwer his Intentions, ſoon laid aſide.

THE

A. D. 1529.

THE Pontiff alſo did not ſuffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to remain unmoleſted, being ſo far from obſerving the Convention made with him by the College of Cardinals, that on a new Vacancy of the Biſhop of *Modena* by the Death of Cardinal *Gonzaga*, promiſed to a Son of the Duke in that Convention, he conferred it on a Son of *Geronimo Morone*, ſeeking Occaſion, by the Refuſal of the Poſſeſſion, to provoke againſt him that Miniſter of ſuch Authority in the Imperial Army. He held alſo an Intrigue, by means of *Uberto da Gambara*, Governor of *Bologna*, with *Geronimo Pio* for ſeizing on *Reggio*; but the Duke, coming to the Knowledge of it, made *Geronimo* ſuffer his due Puniſhment. He plotted alſo to recover *Ravenna* by Surpriſe, but in this alſo he proved unſucceſsful. At this time alſo inclining every Day more and more in his Heart to the Party of *Cæſar*, and having already entered into a very cloſe Negotiation with him, he ſent unto him the Biſhop of *Vaſone*, Chamberlain of his Houſhold.

Pope's Malice againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1529.

Removes the Cauſe of the King of *England*'s Divorce.

THE Cauſe of the King of *England*'s Divorce was now removed by the Pontiff to the Court of the *Rota*, which he would have done long before, had he not been reſtrained by a Regard to the Bull which was in the Hands of *Campeggio* in *England*. For the Affairs of *Cæſar* being reduced to a better Situation in *Italy*, the Pontiff was not only unwilling to give him any farther Offence, but to reverſe the Injury he had done him, and had therefore reſolved, even before his long Sickneſs, to have the Cauſe removed, for which Purpoſe he diſpatched *Franceſco Campana* into *England* to *Campeggio*, pretending to the King that he ſent him for other Reaſons concerning that Cauſe, but with Orders to *Campeggio* that he ſhould burn the Bull; which he delayed to execute on account of the Diſorder which ſeized the Pontiff, but after his Recovery fulfilled his Commands. The Pontiff, therefore, delivered from that Fear, removed the Cauſe, to the unſpeakable Indignation of that King, eſpecially when, on demanding the Bull of the Car-

Cardinal, he underſtood what had happened. *A. D.* 1529.

THESE Proceedings occaſioned the Ruin of the Cardinal of *York*; for the King preſuppoſed the Authority of the Cardinal to be ſo great with the Pontiff, that, if he had been pleaſed with the Marriage of *Anne*, he would have obtained of him all that he had deſired. Indignation at this Diſappointment opened his Ears to the Envy and Calumnies of the Cardinal's Adverſaries, all his Money, and moveable Effects, to an immenſe Value, were ſeized, and a ſmall Part of his Eccleſiaſtical Revenues being left him, he was baniſhed to his Biſhopric with a few Servants; and not long after, either on account of ſome intercepted Letters of his to the King of *France*, or for ſome other Reaſon, at the Inſtigations of the ſame Enemies, who, from ſome Words ſpoken by the King, which indicated a Deſire of him, were afraid he would recover his former Authority, he was ſummoned to make his Defence againſt a Charge brought againſt him in the King's Council. On

Fall of Cardinal *Wolſey*.

A. D. 1529. this Affair being conducted to Court as a Priſoner, he was ſeized on the Road with a Flux, either out of Anger or Fear, and died the ſecond Day of his Illneſs, leaving a memorable Example in our Times of Fortune and Envy in the Courts of Princes.

Civil Commotions in *Florence.*

In *Florence* at this time aroſe a new Commotion, to the great Detriment of that Government, againſt *Nicolo Capponi*, the Gonfalonier, about the End of the ſecond Year of his Magiſtracy, excited chiefly by ſome principal Citizens, who ſerved themſelves on that Occaſion of the vain Suſpicions and Ignorance of the Multitude. *Nicolo* had in all his Magiſtracy two principal Objects in View; to defend thoſe who had been honoured by the *Medici* againſt new Attacks from Envy, and even to admit the principal of them to participate in Honours and in the public Councils with the other Citizens; and to take Care not to exaſperate the Spirit of the Pontiff in Matters that were of no Importance with reſpect to Liberty. The Obſervation of both theſe Points was of

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great Service to the Republic; for many of thoſe very Perſons who had been proſecuted as Enemies of the Government, when they found themſelves in Security and careſſed, would have heartily joined with the reſt in its Preſervation; eſpecially as they knew that the Pontiff was diſſatisfied with them for what had happened at the Time of the Alteration of the State; and that the Pontiff, though he moſt ardently deſired the Return of his Family, yet, if he received no freſh Provocations, had leſs Cauſe to take precipitate Meaſures, and to make his Complaint, as he did without ceaſing, to other Princes. But this ſalutary Conduct was oppoſed by ſome ambitious Perſons, who knowing that if thoſe who had been Friends of the *Medici*, Men, doubtleſs, of greater Merit and Experience, were admitted into the Government, their own Authority muſt needs be leſſened, were intent on nothing but keeping the Populace full of Suſpicions of them and the Pontiff, calumniating the Gonfalonier for thoſe Reaſons, and that he might not obtain the Prolongation of his Office for a third Year,

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A. D. 1529. as if his Averſion to the *Medici* were not ſo great as was requiſite for the Good of the Republic. The Gonfalonier not much concerned at theſe Calumnies, and judging it highly expedient that the Pontiff ſhould not be exaſperated, amuſed him with Letters and private Meſſages; a Correſpondence, however, not begun nor proſecuted without the conſtant Privity of ſome of the principal Citizens, and of thoſe who were in the higheſt Poſts of the Adminiſtration, nor for other Ends than to divert him from taking ſome precipitate Step. But happening to let drop a Letter written from *Rome*, which contained ſome Words capable of begetting a Suſpicion in thoſe who were ignorant of the Original and Foundation of theſe Things, and which came to the Hands of ſome Members of the Supreme Council, ſome ſeditious Youths roſe up in Arms, and ſeized on the Town-houſe, keeping the Gonfalonier as it were under a Guard; and the Magiſtrates with a Number of the Citizens, called together in a tumultuous Manner, reſolved that he ſhould be

be deprived of his Office. This Reſolution being confirmed by the Great Council, his Cauſe came afterwards to be tried according to Law, where he was acquitted, and with the greateſt Honour accompanied home to his Palace by almoſt all the Nobility in *Florence*. In his Place was ſubſtituted *Franceſco Carducci*, a Perſon, if you regard his paſt Life, his Qualities, and corrupt Views, unworthy of ſo great an Honour. A. D. 1529. New Gonfalonier created.

THE Operations of the War began at this time to revive in *Lombardy*, where, *St. Pol* having on the 27th of *April* paſſed the *Po* at *Valenza*, the Imperialiſts abandoned the *Borgo a Baſignano*, and the *Pieve al Cairo*. From hence *St. Pol* detached *Guido Rangone* with Part of the Army to *Mortara*, a Place fortified with double Ditches, Flanks, and Water. The Beſiegers having planted their Cannon in the Night without any Proviſion of Gabions, Entrenchments, and the like Preparations, were at Daybreak attacked by the Garriſon, who did them conſiderable Damage, and nailed two Pieces of Cannon, Motions in *Lombardy*.

A. D. 1529. non, and had like to have taken them all, not without Blame laid on *Guido*, though, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed in Body, he was not preſent at the Planting of the Artillery. The Proviſions for War at this time in *Milan* were in a bad Condition, nor were they in a better State with the *French* and *Venetians*, who, depending and complaining one upon another, neglected all Preparations. Hence, among other Difficulties, aroſe in the Confederates ſome Doubt that the Duke of *Milan*, ſeeing the little Hopes that remained of recovering that State by their Forces and Aſſiſtance, would, by the Mediation of *Morone*, make an Agreement with the Imperialiſts.

Contending Powers diſpoſed to Peace.

But the King of *France* had all his Thoughts and Projects turned on procuring Peace, as the only Way to recover his Children: And *Cæſar* alſo having the ſame Inclination, there returned from *Spain* two Agents of Lady *Margaret*, ſent by her for that Purpoſe, with a moſt ample Commiſſion empowering her to make the Peace. The King, certified of this by one of his Secretaries, whom for that End

End he had diſpatched to *Flanders*, requeſted the Allies to ſend alſo their Commiſſioners; and having fully determined with himſelf to ſuſpend all Proviſions of War, yet, ſeeking ſome Pretence for his Juſtification, he complained that the *Venetians* refuſed to contribute Money for his Paſſage, and that, though at the Beginning they had warmly ſollicited him to paſs on *Cæſar*'s Paſſing, and the King had offered to do it with Twenty-four Hundred Lances, a Thouſand Light Horſe, and Twenty Thouſand Foot, provided the Confederates would give him Money to pay, beſides theſe, a Thouſand Light Horſe, and Twenty Thouſand Foot, and be at Half the Charges of the Artillery, yet, whatever was the Reaſon, they drew back. *A. D.* 1529.

St. Pol takes ſeveral Places.

ST. POL at this time with Four Cannon took by Force *Sant' Angelo*, in which were Four Hundred Foot; after this he attacked *San Columbano*, in order to open a Paſſage for Proviſions from *Piacenza*, and took it by Capitulation. Then underſtanding that *Milan* had in it Four Thouſand

A. D. 1529. ſand Foot, but many of them ſick, he formed a Deſign to beſiege that City. On the 2d of *May* *Mortara* ſurrendered to *St. Pol* at Diſcretion, being no longer able to ſtand his Battery; and *Torniello*, abandoning the Town of *Novara*, but not the Caſtle, into which he put a very few Foot, retired to *Milan*; ſo that the Imperialiſts held nothing beyond the *Teſino* beſides *Gaia* and the Caſtle of *Biagraſſa*. *St. Pol*, having taken alſo the Caſtle of *Vigevano*, marched on the 10th to join the *Venetians* at *Borgo a San Martino*.

Deſign of the Confederates on *Milan* proves abortive.

THE Duke of *Urbino* afterwards arrived in the Army, and the Generals, meeting together at a Conference at *Belgiojoſo*, reſolved in common Council to encamp before *Milan* with two Armies on two Sides; for which End *St. Pol* ſhould paſs the *Teſino*, and turn about to *Biagraſſa*, in order to force it; and that the ſame Day the *Venetians* ſhould advance to *Borgo di San Martino* Five Miles diſtant from *Milan*, the *Venetians* declaring that they had Twelve Thouſand Foot, and *St. Pol* that he had Eight

Eight Thouſand, and he was to be joined by thoſe of the Duke of *Milan*. Wherefore *St. Pol* paſſed the *Teſino*, and finding the Town of *Biagraſſa* abandoned, he took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle by Capitulation, and having encamped at *Gazzano*, Eight Miles from *Milan*, a new Conſultation was held on the 3d Day of *June* at *Binaſco*. Hence aſſuring themſelves that the *Venetians* had not Half the Twelve Thouſand Foot to which they were bound by the Articles of the Confederacy, and *St. Pol* making ſad Complaints about it, it was reſolved to approach *Milan* only with one Camp on the Quarter of the *Lazaretto*, though Count *Guido* told them that *Antonio da Leva*, who was in Poſſeſſion of nothing but *Milan* and *Como*, uſed to ſay, that *Milan* was not to be forced but with two Camps. But a few Days after, on a Change of Opinion, the Heads of both Armies being aſſembled at *Lodi*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Urbino*, who had before inſiſted on marching and laying Siege to *Milan*, and diſſuaded marching to *Genoa*, now adviſed the contrary, the Duke of *Urbino* alledging

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A. D. 1529. alledging many Reaſons for this new Reſolution, but principally, that ſince *Cæſar* was preparing to paſs into *Italy*, and that, in order to convoy him, *Andrea Doria* had, on the 8th of *June*, ſailed with the Gallies from *Genoa*, and that they had Intelligence from *Germany* that Preparations were making there for ſending a new Body of *Germans* into *Italy*, under General *Felix*, he knew not whether it were beſt to take *Milan*, or not to take it. Theſe were the Reaſons alledged by him; but it was believed that, on perſuading himſelf that the Peace which was under Negotiation in *Flanders* muſt take Effect, he had repreſented to the *Venetian* Senate, who were fortifying *Bergamo*, that it would be of no Service to put themſelves to Expences for the Recovery of *Milan*. The Sum of his Counſel was, that the Troops of the *Venetians* ſhould take their Station at *Caſciano*, thoſe of the Duke of *Milan* in *Pavia*, and *St. Pol* at *Biagraſſa*, and endeavour, by means of their Horſe, to prevent the Entrance of Proviſions into *Milan*, where he imagined they would ſoon be wanted, becauſe a very ſmall Part of

of that Territory had been ſowed. *St. Pol* could not remove him from this Opinion, but did not approve of poſting himſelf with his Army at *Biagraſſa*, alledging, that to ſtarve *Milan* it was ſufficient for the Troops of the *Venetians* to take Poſt at *Moncia*, and thoſe of *Sforza* at *Pavia* and *Vigevano*; and that the King preſſed him, if *Milan* ſhould not be beſieged, to make an Enterpriſe upon *Genoa*, which he had in his Thoughts to attempt with all Speed, in Hopes that, in the Abſence of *Doria*, *Ceſare Fregoſo*, who had agreed with the King of *France* to be Governor himſelf, and not his Father, would cauſe a Revolution with the Aſſiſtance of a few Foot. A. D. 1529.

THESE Steps, with the Knowledge of the Diminution of the Enemy's Troops, had made *Antonio da Leva* ſo little apprehenſive of Danger to *Milan*, that he ſent *Filippo Torniello*, with a few Horſe, and Three Hundred Foot, to recover *Novara*, while the *French* and *Venetians* lay between the *Teſino* and *Milan*. *Torniello* entering through the Caſtle, which held out for the Imperialiſts, recovered *Novara*, and after- *Novara* recovered by the Imperialiſts.

A. D. 1529. afterwards marched out with his Men to plunder and collect Proviſions. But it happened, while the Governor of *Novara* was gone out of the Caſtle and walking about the Town, that Two Soldiers of *Sforza*, and Three of *Novara*, who were Priſoners in the Caſtle, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Labourers attacking the Caſtle, killed or ſecured ſome *Spaniſh* Foot, and ſeized the Caſtle, hoping to be ſuccoured by their Friends; for the Duke of *Milan*, as ſoon as he had Intelligence of the March of *Torniello* out of *Milan*, being in Pain for *Novara*, had detached that Way *Giampaolo* his Brother with a ſmall Number of Horſe and Foot, and he was now got as far as *Vigevano*. But *Torniello*, on Advice of what had happened in the Caſtle, immediately returned back to *Novara*, and with Menaces and Preparations to give the Aſſault ſo terrified thoſe Soldiers of *Sforza*, that they capitulated on Condition only of Safety to themſelves, without minding that of the *Novareſe*, and ſurrendered the Caſtle.

Caſtle loſt and recovered.

A. D. 1529.

IT was determined then to infeſt *Milan* with the Forces of the *Venetians* and of the Duke of *Milan*, though the Duke of *Urbino* ſaid that he would not poſt himſelf at *Moncia*, but at *Caſciano*, that he might be nearer the State of the *Venetians*; and *St. Pol*, who was encamped at the Abbey of *Biboldone*, reſolved to return on the otherſide the *Po*, in order to march towards *Genoa*. Purſuant to this Purpoſe he marched to encamp at *Landriano*, about Twelve Miles diſtant from *Milan*, between the Roads to *Lodi* and *Pavia*; and deſigning to proceed the next Day, which was the 21ſt of *June*, to encamp at *Lardirago* towards *Pavia*, he ſent his Artillery and Baggage with his Vanguard before, and he himſelf, with the Main Battle and the Rearguard, ſet out later. *Leva*, informed by his Spies of his Retardation, and of the Separation of the Vanguard, marched out of *Milan* by Night with ſome Troops in their Shirts, he himſelf, having a long time been diſabled in Body by Pains and Infirmities, being

A. D. 1529. being carried in his Arms by Four Men in a Chair. When he was arrived at two Miles Diſtance from *Landriano*, marching without Beat of Drum, underſtanding that *St. Pol* was not as yet ſet out from *Landriano*, haſtening his Men, he fell upon the Enemy before they were appriſed of his Coming, the firſt Squadron of the *French*, under *Jean Thomas de Gallere*, being advanced ſo far forwards, that they could not come in time to ſuccour their Comrades; and though *St. Pol*, putting Confidence in his Twenty-five Hundred *Germans*, diſmounted, and fought valiantly, yet the *Germans*, after a ſlight Defence, began to retire; but they were ſupported by *Gianjeronimo da Caſtiglione* and *Claudio Rangone*, Commanders of Two Thouſand *Italians*, who fought moſt bravely, yet at laſt the Horſe and the *Germans* turning their Backs the *Italians* did the ſame, and *St. Pol*, remounted on Horſeback, and attempting to paſs a great Ditch, was taken Priſoner, and with him *Gianjeronimo da Caſtiglione*, *Claudio Rangone*, *Lignach*, *Carbone*, and other Officers of Note, the Troops were routed, and a Multitude of Horſes

St. Pol defeated and taken Priſoner.

Horſes, the Baggage of almoſt the whole Army, with all the Cannon were taken; almoſt all the Lances, and Count *Guido* with the Vanguard, ſaved themſelves by Flight, and got to *Pavia*, and from thence in the Beginning of the Night to *Lodi*, in ſuch a Conſternation that they were ready to fall foul of one another, and break themſelves, and a conſiderable Number were left on the Road. The Officers alledged in their Excuſe that the Troops were not paid, and all the *French* quitted the Service, and returned into *France*. A. D. 1529.

THUS the unhappy Succeſſes of the *French* occaſioning in a manner a total Ceſſation of Arms throughout *Italy*, the Minds of the greater Princes were ſet on making Agreements. The firſt that was concluded was an Agreement between the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, made in *Barcelona*, and very favourable for the Pontiff, either becauſe *Cæſar*, being very deſirous to paſs into *Italy*, ſought to remove the Obſtacles, for which End he thought it neceſſary to procure the Friendſhip of the Pontiff, or becauſe he was willing, by very large

A. D. 1529. Conceſſions, to give him the greater Reaſon to forget the Injuries he had received from his Miniſters and Army. It imported,

Articles of Agreement between the Pontiff and *Cæſar*

That between the Pontiff and *Cæſar* there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a Peace and perpetual Confederacy: That the Pontiff ſhould grant a Paſſage to the *Cæſarean* Army, if they had a Mind to march out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, through the Territories of the Church: That *Cæſar*, out of Reſpect to the new Marriage, and for the Tranquillity of *Italy*, ſhould reinſtate in *Florence* the Son of *Lorenzo de' Medici* in the ſame Grandeur in which his Family lived before their Expulſion, with Regard, however, to the Coſts incurred for the ſaid Reſtitution as ſhall be declared between the Pope and him: That Proviſion ſhall be made as ſoon as poſſible, either by Arms, or by ſome other more convenient Method, that the Pontiff may be reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire, and of the Apoſtolic See: That the Pontiff, when repoſſeſſed of the aforeſaid Towns ſhall, in recompenſe of the Kind-

Kindneſs he has received, grant unto *Cæſar* the Inveſtiture of the *Neapolitan* Kingdom, reducing the Tribute of the laſt Inveſtiture to a White Horſe in Acknowledgement of the Fee, and ſhall allow him the antient Nomination of Twenty-four Cathedral Churches, concerning which there was a Controverſy, the Diſpoſition of the Churches which ſhould not be in Patronage, and of the other Benefices reſting in the Pope: That the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, when he ſhall paſs into *Italy*, ſhall have a perſonal Conference for debating the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and the univerſal Peace of Chriſtendom, receiving one another with the due and accuſtomed Ceremonies and Honour: That *Cæſar*, if the Pontiff ſhall demand of him the ſecular Arm for the Acquiſition of *Ferrara*, ſhall, as Advocate, Protector, and eldeſt Son of the Apoſtolic See, aſſiſt him to the End with all that ſhall lie in his Power at that Time; and they ſhall agree together on the Coſts, Methods, and Forms of regulating their Proceedings according to the Condition of Times and Events: That the Pontiff and *Cæſar* ſhall conſult

A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. together on ſome Means for procuring the Cauſe of *Franceſco Sforza* to be tried in a Court of Judicature according to Law, and by unſuſpected Judges, that, if he be found innocent, he may be reſtored; if otherwiſe, *Cæſar*, though the Diſpoſal of the Dutchy of *Milan* belonged to him, offers to diſpoſe of it with the Advice and Conſent of the Pontiff, and to inveſt with it a Perſon who may be acceptable to him, or to diſpoſe of it in any other Manner as ſhall appear more expedient for the Quiet of *Italy*: *Cæſar* promiſes that *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, his Brother, ſhall conſent that, during the Life of the Pontiff, and two Years after, the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhall take the Salts of *Cervia*, according to the Confederacy between *Cæſar* and *Leo*, confirmed in the laſt Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, without approving, however, the Agreement made concerning it with the King of *France*, and without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire, and of the King of *Hungary*: It ſhall not be in the Power of either of them to make new Leagues with reſpect to the Affairs of *Italy*, to the Prejudice of this

this Confederacy, nor obſerve ſuch as are made contrary to it; the *Venetians*, however, are at Liberty to enter into it, on abandoning what they poſſeſs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and fulfilling the Engagements in which they ſtood bound to *Cæſar* and *Ferdinand* by the laſt Confederacy made between them, reſtoring alſo *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, with a Reſerve alſo to Rights of Damages and Intereſts incurred on account of theſe Affairs. *Cæſar* and *Ferdinand* ſhall uſe all poſſible Endeavours that the Heretics may be reduced to the true Way, and the Pontiff ſhall uſe ſpiritual Remedies; and, if they perſiſt in their Stubbornneſs, *Cæſar* and *Ferdinand* ſhall employ their Arms againſt them, and the Pontiff ſhall take Care that the other Chriſtian Princes ſhall aſſiſt them in Proportion to their Forces. The Pontiff and *Cæſar* ſhall not receive into their Protection the Subjects, Vaſſals, or Feudatories of each other, unleſs on account of a direct Dominion which they might have over any Perſon, but not to extend it beyond that; and the Protections already taken are underſtood to be abrogated within one

A D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. Month. That this Friendſhip and Connexion might be the more firm and ſtable, they confirmed it by a cloſe Affinity, *Cæſar* promiſing to give in Marriage *Margaret* his natural Daughter, with a Dowry of Twenty Thouſand Ducats yearly Revenue, to *Aleſſandro de' Medici*, Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*, whom the Pontiff deſigned to inveſt with the ſecular Greatneſs of his Houſe, becauſe, at the Time he lay ſick and in Danger of Death, he had created *Ippolito*, Son of *Giuliano*, a Cardinal. At the ſame time they agreed on ſeparate Articles: The Pontiff granted to *Cæſar* and his Brother, for their Defence againſt the *Turks*, One Fourth of the Revenues of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, in the Manner granted by his Predeceſſor *Adriano*. He abſolved all thoſe who in *Rome*, or in other Places, had offended againſt the Apoſtolic See, and thoſe who had given Aſſiſtance, Counſel, and Favour to, or had been Accomplices in, or had ratified the Treſpaſſes committed, or had approved them tacitly or expreſly, or yielded Conſent. *Cæſar* not having publiſhed the Croiſade granted by the Pontiff leſs ample than

than others granted before, the Pontiff abolishing that Croisade, granted another in full and ample Form as had been done by Popes *Julius* and *Leo*. This Agreement, all Difficulties being removed, was not however ratified before Advice came to *Cæsar* of the Defeat of *St. Pol*; and tho' it was doubted that the advantageous Change in his Affairs would produce some Alteration in the Articles, yet he readily confirmed all that had been agreed on, ratifying it the same Day, which was the 29th of *June*, before the high Altar of the Cathedral Church of *Barcelona*, with a solemn Oath. A. D. 1529.

Peace negotiated between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*.

BUT the Negotiations of an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* proceeded with no less Warmth, for the Management of which, after receiving the necessary Powers, *Cambray*, a Place destined for finishing Treaties of the greatest Consequence; was appointed for the Scene of the Transaction. In this City Lady *Margaret*, and Madam the Regentess, Mother of the King of *France*, were to have an Interview for prosecuting the Af-

A. D. 1529. fair with the Conſent of the King of *England*, who approved of the Overture, while his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty laboured with all his Art and Diligence, and by Promiſes to the Ambaſſadors of his *Italian* Confederates of what he never intended to obſerve, to make them believe that he would make no Agreement with *Cæſar* without their Conſent, and to their Satisfaction. For he was under Apprehenſions that, out of Jealouſy of his Intentions, they would make their Peace with *Cæſar*, by which Means he would find himſelf excluded from the Friendſhip of all Parties. He endeavoured therefore to perſuade them that he had no Expectations of Peace, but, on the contrary, had turned all his Thoughts on making Proviſions of War, about which he was continually treating, and had ſent the Biſhop of *Tarbe* into *Italy* with a Commiſſion to repair to *Venice*, to the Duke of *Milan*, to *Ferrara*, and to *Florence*, for holding Debates on Matters relating to War, and to promiſe that if *Cæſar* ſhould paſs into *Italy*, the King of *France* would paſs at the ſame Time with a very potent Army, the other Con-

King uſes Artifices with his Allies.

Confederates, on their Part, concurring in the neceſſary Proviſions. And yet, for all this, he was continually preſſing forwards the Negotiations of Agreement, for which Purpoſe, on the 7th Day of *July*, the two Ladies entered, at different Parts, with great Pomp, into *Cambray*, and took their Lodgings in two contiguous Houſes which had a Paſſage from one into the other. They had a Conference the ſame Day, and began, by their Agents, to debate on Articles, the King of *France*, to whom the *Venetians*, who were under great Apprehenſions from this Congreſs, made very large Offers, being advanced to *Compeign*, to be nearer at hand for reſolving any Difficulties that might occur. A. D. 1529.

THERE aſſembled in this Place not only the two Ladies, but alſo the Biſhop of *London*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* for the King of *England*; for theſe Negotiations were held with the Conſent and Participation of that King: And the Pontiff ſent thither the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, and the Ambaſſadors from all the Confederates were there. But to theſe Ambaſſadors the Congreſs at *Cambray*.

A. D. 1529. the *French* made Reports different from the Truth of the Matters under Debate, the King either having ſo little Fear of God, or being ſo much taken up with a Regard only to his own Intereſt, which conſiſted wholly in the Recovery of his Children, that when the *Florentines* made great Inſtances with him that, following the Example of what King *Lewis*, his Father-in-law and Predeceſſor, had done in the Year 1512, he would give his Conſent that they ſhould agree with *Cæſar* for their own Preſervation, he had refuſed it, promiſing that he would never conclude an Agreement without including them, and aſſuring them that he was moſt ready and prepared to make War; and the ſame Promiſes and Aſſurances he was continually giving to the reſt of the Allies, while he was moſt cloſely preſſing the Negotiations of Peace.

On *July* 23 came Advice of the Convention made between the Pontiff and *Cæſar*; and when the Treaty was far advanced it happened to be diſordered and interrupted by ſome Difficulties which aroſe about

about certain Territories of the *Franche Comté*, in ſuch a Manner that the Lady Regenteſs made Diſpoſitions for her Departure. But by the Interpoſition of the Pontiff's Legate, and eſpecially of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, it was brought to a Concluſion, though the King of *France* promiſed the Confederates the ſame things after, as he did before, it was concluded. At laſt, on the 5th Day of *Auguſt*, the Peace was ſolemnly publiſhed in the great Church at *Cambray*. The firſt Article was that the King's Children ſhould be releaſed, the King paying *Cæſar* for their Ranſom One Million, and Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and to the King of *England*, for *Cæſar*, Two Hundred Thouſand more: To reſtore to *Cæſar*, within Six Months after the Ratification, all that he poſſeſſed in the Dutchy of *Milan*; to leave him *Aſti*, and yield up his Claim to it; evacuate, as ſoon as poſſible, *Barletta*, and what he poſſeſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*; inſiſt with the *Venetians* on the Reſtitution of the Towns of *Puglia*, according to the Articles of *Coignac*, and, in caſe of Refuſal, to declare himſelf their Enemy,

A. D. 1529.

Articles of the Convention between *Cæſar* and the King of *France*.

A. D. 1529. Eenmy, and aſſiſt *Cæſar* for their Recovery with Thirty Thouſand Crowns a Month, and with Twelve Gallies, Four Ships of War, and Four Galleons, paid for Six Months; to reſtore what he had in his Power of the Gallies taken at *Portofino*, or the Value, deducting what had afterwards been taken by *Andrea Doria*, or other Officers of *Cæſar*; to renounce, as they had before agreed at *Madrid*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and yield up his Claims to *Tournay* and *Arras*; to diſannul the Proceſs againſt *Bourbon*, and reſtore the Honour to the Deceaſed, and the Eſtate to the Succeſſors; though *Cæſar* afterwards complained that the King, as ſoon as he had recovered his Children, deprived them again of them. The Eſtates ſeized on account of the War were to be reſtored to the Owners, or to their Succeſſors; which alſo gave *Cæſar* Cauſe of Complaint, becauſe the King did not reſtore the Eſtate he had ſeized to the Prince of *Orange*. All Cartels, even that of *Robert de la Marche*, were intended to be aboliſhed. The Pontiff was comprehended in this Peace as a Principal, and the Duke of

of *Savoy* was included in it, in general as a Subject of the Empire, and in particular as nominated by *Cæſar*: And the King was not to intermeddle, for the future, in the Affairs of *Italy* or *Germany*, in the Favour of any Potentate, to the Prejudice of *Cæſar*; though the King of *France* affirmed, in ſucceeding Times, that he was not prohibited by this Agreement to recover what the Duke of *Savoy* poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *France*, and what, as he pretended, belonged to himſelf in right of the Lady Regenteſs his Mother. There was alſo an Article importing that the *Venetians* and *Florentines* ſhould be underſtood as included in the Peace, in caſe they accommodated their Differences with *Cæſar* within four Months, which was as good as a tacit Excluſion, and the ſame was the Caſe of the Duke of *Ferrara*. There was not the leaſt Mention made of the Barons and Exiles of the Kingdom of *Naples*. A. D. 1529.

THE King, as ſoon as the Agreement was made, repaired to *Cambray* to viſit Lady *Margaret*, and, not being however quite

A. D. 1529.

quite void of Shame at ſo unhandſome an Action, avoided, for ſome Days, by various Subterfuges, the Sight and Hearing of the Ambaſſadors of the Allies. At laſt, admitting them to an Audience ſeparately, he made ſome Excuſe, alledging that he had not been able to act otherwiſe on account of recovering his Children, but that he had ſent the Admiral to *Cæſar* for their Benefit, giving them other vain Hopes, and promiſing the *Florentines* to lend them Forty Thouſand Ducats for their Aſſiſtance againſt the imminent Danger, which he performed as he did his other Promiſes; and, pretending he did it to gratify them, he gave Leave to *Stefano Colonna*, of whoſe Service he deſigned no further Uſe, to enter into the Pay of the *Florentines*.

King of *France* labours to excuſe his Conduct.

While theſe Affairs were under Management *Antonio da Leva* had recovered *Biagraſſa*, and the Duke of *Urbino* keeping his Station in the Camp at *Caſciano*, and employing an incredible Number of Pioneers in fortifying it, was ſollicitous for the Preſervation of *Pavia* and *Sant' Angelo*,

Motions in *Lombardy*.

gelo, alledging that the Camp at *Caſciano* lay convenient for ſuccouring *Lodi* and *Pavia*. *Antonio da Leva* advanced afterwards to *Enzago*, three Miles from *Caſciano*, where he had continual Skirmiſhes with the *Venetian* Troops; and at laſt he removed from *Enzago* to *Vauri*, either for making an Incurſion into the *Bergameſe*, or becauſe the *Venetians* had cut off his Water. At this Time alſo *Viſtarino* entered *Valenza* by the Caſtle, and routed Hundred Foot there in Garriſon. *A. D.* 1529.

In *July* Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot were already arrived by Sea at *Genoa* in Expectation of the Coming of *æſar*, who, as ſoon as he had made a Convention with the Pontiff, gave Orders to the Prince of *Orange*, at the Pontiff's Requeſt, to attack the State of the *Florentines*. The Prince was arrived at *Aquila*, and employed in reviewing his Troops on the Confines of the Kingdom of *Naples*, when he was inſtantly requeſted by the Pontiff to advance forwards. Wherefore, on the laſt Day of *July* he poſted to *Rome* without Troops, to ſettle with the Pontiff the neceſſary Pro-

Imperialiſts prepare to attack the *Florentines*

A. D. 1529. Proviſions for the Expedition. Here, after various Debates, which had ſometimes like to have proceeded to a Rupture, on account of the Difficulties which the Pope made of laying out his Money, they agreed at laſt that the Pontiff ſhould diſburſe Thirty Thouſand Ducats for the preſent, and Forty Thouſand Ducats more in a ſhort time, that the Prince might, at *Cæſar*'s Expence, firſt reduce *Perugia*, expelling thence *Malateſta Baglione*, to the Obedience of the Church, and afterwards attack the *Florentines* in order to reinſtate the Family of the *Medici* in *Florence*; a very eaſy Matter in the Apprehenſions of the Pontiff, who perſuaded himſelf that the *Florentines*, finding themſelves abandoned by all, would think it their Duty, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors, rather to ſubmit than to expoſe their Country to the greateſt and moſt manifeſt Danger.

Forces under the Prince of *Orange*.

THE Prince there aſſembled his Troops, which conſiſted of Three Thouſand *German* Foot, the laſt Remains of thoſe who had paſſed into *Italy* from *Spain* with the Viceroy,

Viceroy, and from *Germany* with *George Fronſperg*, and Four Thouſand *Italian* Foot not in Pay, commanded by the ſeveral Colonels, *Pierluigi da Farneſe*, the Count *di San Secondo*, Colonel *Martio*, and *Sciarra Colonna*; and the Pontiff furniſhed him with three Cannon, and ſome other Pieces of Artillery out of the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*; and *Orange* was to be followed by the Marquis *del Guaſto*, with the *Spaniſh* Foot, from *Puglia*. A. D. 1529.

BUT in *Florence* the Reſolutions taken on this Occaſion were far different from the Pope's Expectations, for the Minds of the People were moſt obſtinately bent on making Reſiſtance, and defending themſelves. And becauſe this Diſpoſition was the Occaſion of very remarkable Events, it ſeems very proper to give a particular Deſcription of the Situation of the City.

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WHILE theſe Preparations were making on all Sides, *Cæſar* ſet ſail from *Barcelona* with a great Fleet of Ships of War

A. D. 1529. and Gallies, in which were embarked a Thouſand Horſe, and Nine Thouſand Foot, and, after a troubleſome and dangerous Voyage of Fifteen Days, arrived on the 12th of *Auguſt* at *Genoa*. In this City he received the firſt Advice of the Convention concluded at *Cambray*, and at the ſame time General *Felix*, with Eight Thouſand *Germans* in *Cæſar*'s Pay, paſſed into *Lombardy*.

Cæſar arrives from *Spain* at *Genoa*.

THE Arrival of *Cæſar* with ſuch mighty Preparations ſtruck a Terror into all *Italy*, which was already ſure of being left a Prey by the King of *France*. Wherefore the *Florentines*, in a great Conſternation at the firſt Advices, elected Four Ambaſſadors, out of the principal Men of the City, to congratulate him on his Coming, and to ſollicit an Accommodation of their Affairs; but afterwards, reſuming continually freſh Courage, they moderated their Commiſſions, by reſtraining them to treat with him only about their own Intereſts, and of their Differences with the Pontiff, in hopes that *Cæſar*, from the Memory of Things paſt, and the little Confidence that

His Coming alarms the *Italians*.

that uſed to ſubſiſt between the Popes and Emperors, would take Umbrage at the Greatneſs of the Pontiff, and hardly wiſh to ſee the Power of the Church increaſed by the Forces and Authority of the State of *Florence*. The *Venetians* greatly reſented that the *Florentines*, being in Confederacy with them, had, without their Participation, elected Ambaſſadors to the common Enemy. The Duke of *Ferrara* alſo complained of them, though, following their Example, he immediately alſo ſent his Ambaſſadors; and the *Venetians* conſented that the ſame Step ſhould be taken by the Duke of *Milan*, who had long before held private Negotiations with the Pontiff for making his Peace with *Cæſar*, knowing, even before the Defeat of *St. Pol*, that but little Confidence was to be repoſed in the King of *France* and the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1529.

CÆSAR cauſed the *Spaniſh* Foot which he had brought with him to be landed at *Savona*, and directed their March for *Lombardy*, that *Antonio da Leva* might take the Field with a powerful Force. He had offered to land them at *Specie*, in

A. D. 1529. order to be ſent to *Tuſcany*; but the Pontiff, on account of the Impreſſion that had been made, did not think ſo great a Force neceſſary, eſpecially as he was deſirous, for the Preſervation of the Country, not to uſe ſuch violent Means againſt his own City without Neceſſity: However, he now openly proceeded againſt the *Florentines*, and againſt *Malateſta Baglione*, and cauſed to be arreſted on the Territories of the Church the Chevalier *Sperello*, who having been diſpatched by the King of *France*, before the Convention at *Cambray*, with Money to *Malateſta*, whoſe Enliſtment the King had ratified, was returning to *Perugia*. He had alſo ſeized near *Bracciano* the Money ſent by the *Florentines* to the Abbot of *Farfa*, whom they had taken into Pay with Two Hundred Horſe, for raiſing a Thouſand Foot. But he was ſoon neceſſitated to reſtore it; for the Pontiff having deputed Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* the Cardinals *Farneſe*, *Santa Croce*, and *Medici*, *Santa Croce* paſſing through the Towns was arreſted by Order of the Abbot, who would not releaſe him before the Money was reſtored to him.

Pope's Proceeding againſt the *Florentines*.

But

A. D. 1529.

BUT the *Florentines* continued their Preparations, and, having in vain attempted to prevail with *Cæſar* not to commence Hoſtilities till he had heard their Ambaſſadors, they ſollicited Don *Ercole da Eſte*, the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Ferrara*, taken into their Pay ſix Months before, and appointed their Captain General, to come with his Troops, as he was obliged, to their Aſſiſtance. But *Ercole*, though he had accepted the Money ſent for levying a Thouſand Foot appointed for his Guards when he marched, yet directed by his Father, who poſtponed Faith and Honour to Reaſons of State, refuſed to come, but reſtored not the Money, tho' he ſent his Cavalry; wherefore the *Florentines* debarred him from the Option of a ſecond Year in their Service.

BUT now the Prince of *Orange* was on the 19th Day of *Auguſt* at *Terni*, and the *Germans* at *Fuligno*, the Place of their Rendezvous. And it was pleaſant to obſerve that, though the Peace between *Cæſar* and the King of *France* had been

A. D. 1529. concluded and publiſhed, the Biſhop of *Tarbe* went about, with the Character o the King's Ambaſſador, to *Venice*, *Florence*, *Ferrara* and *Perugia*, magnifying the mighty Preparations of his King for War, and exhorting them to make the ſame. The Prince afterwards advanced with Six Thouſand Foot, between *Germans* and *Italians*, to beſiege *Spelle*, where *Giovanni d'Urbino*, who had been long experienced in the Wars of *Italy*, and was reputed by much the beſt of all the Officers of the *Spaniſh* Foot, with a good Number of Horſe approaching the Town in order to ſurvey its Situation, received a Shot from the Place in the Thigh, of which he died in a few Days, with great Loſs to the Army, becauſe the War was in a manner wholly under his Direction. A Battery was then erected againſt *Spelle*, which had a Garriſon of above Five Hundred Foot, and Twenty Horſe, under *Lione Baglione*, a natural Brother of *Malateſta*. But, after a few Cannon Shot againſt a Tower that ſtood without the Town by the Side of the Walls, the Garriſon,

riſon, though *Lione* had given *Malateſta* great Hopes of making a good Defence, immediately ſurrendered, on condition that the Town and its Inhabitants ſhould be left to the Prince's Diſcretion, and that the Soldiers, with Safety to their Perſons, and as many Effects as they could carry on their Backs, ſhould march out with only their Swords, and be incapable of ſerving againſt the Pontiff or *Cæſar* for three Months; but in marching out they were almoſt all diſarmed. This ſhameful Capitulation was imputed in a great meaſure to *Giovambattiſta Borgheſi*, a *Seneſe* Exile, who had begun a Treaty with *Fabio Petrucci* attending the Army, and brought it to Perfection with the Aſſiſtance of the other Officers; *Malateſta* aſcribed it to Treachery, many others to meer Cowardice.

A. D. 1529.

Prince of *Orange* takes *Spelie*.

BUT in the mean time the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors preſenting themſelves before *Cæſar* had addreſſed him firſt with Congratulations on his Arrival, and then endeavoured to convince him that their City was not ambitious, but grateful for Benefits, and ready to be uſeful to him who

Florentine Ambaſſadors addreſs *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1529. ſhould preſerve it; excuſing its Conduct, by alledging that it had entered into the League at the Will of the Pontiff, who had at that time the Command of it, and continued in it out of Neceſſity. They proceeded no further, becauſe they had no Commiſſion but only to make a Report of what ſhould be propoſed to them, and had expreſs Orders from the Republic not to hearken to any Treaty with the Pontiff, and to viſit his other Legates, but not the Cardinal *de' Medici*.

Anſwer of the Great Chancellor.

THEY were anſwered by the Great Chancellor, newly elected Cardinal, that it was neceſſary for them to ſatisfy the Pontiff; and, when they complained of the Injuſtice of that Demand, he anſwered, that the City, by confederating with the Enemies of *Cæſar*, and ſending Troops to fight againſt him, had forfeited its Privileges, and was devolved to the Empire, for which Reaſon *Cæſar* might diſpoſe of it at his Pleaſure. At laſt it was intimated to them, in the Name of *Cæſar*, that they muſt procure a Commiſſion empowering them to make a Convention alſo with

with the Pontiff, after which the Differences between the Pope and them would be taken into Conſideration, for before theſe were compounded *Cæſar* would not treat with them about his own Concerns. They ſent a very ample Commiſſion to make an Agreement with *Cæſar*, but not with the Pontiff. Wherefore when *Cæſar*, who left *Genoa* on the 30th of *Auguſt*, was arrived at *Piacenza*, the Ambaſſadors, who followed him, were not admitted into *Piacenza*, becauſe it was known that they were not provided with a Commiſſion in the Form that *Cæſar* had required. *A. D.* 1529.

THUS Affairs remained without an Accommodation; and *Cæſar* had alſo, after a rough Reception, diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though, returning afterwards with new Inſtructions, and, perhaps, with new Favours, they were admitted. He alſo ſent *Naſſau* Ambaſſador to the King of *France*, to congratulate him on his ſtrengthening the Band of Affinity with a new Alliance, and to receive the Ratification of the Peace. On the ſame Affairs the King alſo diſpatched

Cæſar and the King of *France* ſend mutual Embaſſies.

A. D. 1529. patched the Admiral to *Cæſar*, and remitted Money to *Renzo da Ceri*, to enable him to remove with all his Troops out of *Puglia*, whither he was alſo preparing to ſend Twelve Gallies under *Filippino Doria* againſt the *Venetians*, againſt whom *Cæſar* ſent *Andrea Doria* with a Fleet of Thirty-ſeven Gallies. The King, however, imagining that the Recovery of his Children would be more certain if *Cæſar* had ſome Difficulties left to ſtruggle with in *Italy*, gave various Hopes to the Confederates; and to the *Florentines*, in particular, he promiſed to ſend the Admiral privately with Money; not that he had it really in his Thoughts to aſſiſt either them or the others, but that they might perſiſt with greater Reluctancy to agree with *Cæſar*.

In the mean time a Negotiation of Peace was continually carrying on between *Cæſar* and the Duke of *Milan*, by the Mediation of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, who went to and fro between *Cremona* and *Piacenza*. It appearing ſtrange to *Cæſar* that the Duke put leſs Confidence in him than he had believed, and the Duke, on the

the other hand, hardly prevailing with himſelf to truſt him, an Expedient was propoſed that *Aleſſandria* and *Pavia* ſhould be put into the Pope's Hands till the Duke's Cauſe was tried. To this *Cæſar* would by no means conſent, becauſe he thought the Duke unable to reſiſt his Forces, and ſo much the more as *Antonio da Leva* was come to *Piacenza*, and, as he was an Enemy to Idleneſs and Peace, had perſuaded him by many Reaſons to War. *Cæſar* therefore gave him Orders to undertake the Siege of *Pavia*, deſigning alſo that at the ſame time General *Felix*, who had advanced with a freſh Body of *German* Foot, and with Horſe and Artillery towards *Peſchiera*, and afterwards entered the *Breſcian*, ſhould begin a War on that Side againſt the *Venetians*, having made the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was newly returned to his Devotion to the Imperialiſts, Captain General of that Enterpriſe.

A. D. 1529.

Cæſar ſtill at War with the Duke of *Milan* and *Venetians*.

THE Pontiff in the mean time negotiated a Peace between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, in hopes of concluding it at his Coming to *Bologna*. For he had at firſt deſigned

A. D. 1529. designed a Conference with *Cæsar* at *Genoa*, but afterwards it was agreed by common Consent between both Parties, for the Conveniency of the Place, to meet together at *Bologna*. To this Interview not only both of them were induced by the common Desire of better strengthening and consolidating their Union, but *Cæsar*, in particular, was moved also by Necessity, for he had a Mind to take the Imperial Crown, and the Pontiff by an earnest Desire of the Enterprise upon *Florence*, and both again by an Intention of establishing some Regulation in the Affairs of *Italy*, which was impracticable without an Accommodation of the Affairs of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, and also of providing against the imminent Danger from the *Turk*, who had entered *Hungary* with a great Army, and was pursuing his March towards *Austria* with a Design to make himself Master of *Vienna*.

Motives to an Interview between the Pontiff and *Cæsar*.

At this Juncture no Actions of Moment happened between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*; for the Senate inclining to an Agreement with him, that they might not

Venetians inclined to Peace.

not further exaſperate him, had retired with their Fleet from the Attack of the Caſtle of *Brindiſi* to *Corfu*, and attended only to the Preſervation of the Towns which they held; and in *Lombardy* nothing happened but ſlight Excurſions, the *Venetians* having ſent the Duke of *Urbino* to *Breſcia* only to provide for the Security of the garriſoned Towns. A. D. 1529.

THE *Germans*, in number a Thouſand Horſe, and between Eight and Ten Thouſand Foot, were encamped at *Lonata*, with a Deſign to undertake, in conjunction with the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the Siege of *Cremona*, in which was the Perſon of the Duke of *Milan*. The Duke ſeeing himſelf excluded from an Agreement with *Cæſar*, that *Antonio da Leva* was gone to beſiege *Pavia*, and that *Caracciolo* was now coming to *Cremona* to denounce War to him, agreed with the *Venetians* to make no Accommodation with *Cæſar* without their Conſent; and the *Venetians* obliged themſelves to ſupply him with Two Thouſand Foot, paid by them, and Eight Thouſand Ducats a Month for the Defence of his State,

A. D. 1529. State, and ſent him Artillery and Troops to *Cremona*, with which Aſſiſtance the Duke aſſured himſelf that he could defend *Lodi* and *Cremona*. For *Pavia* made but a ſlender Reſiſtance againſt *Antonio da Leva*, not only becauſe it was not victualled for two Months, but alſo becauſe *Pizzinardo*, who commanded the Garriſon, had a few Days before ſent four Companies of Foot to *Sant' Angelo*, which *Antonio da Leva* had made a Feint of intending to beſiege; whence the Governor having but few Troops left with him, and deſpairing of any Poſſibility of Defence, without waiting for Battery or Aſſault, as ſoon as he ſaw Preparations for planting the Artillery, capitulated on condition of Safety to the Perſons and Effects of himſelf and the Soldiers. For this he was highly blamed, as one more influenced, in ſo haſty a Surrender, by a ſordid and avaritious Fear of loſing the Riches accumulated by ſo many Plunders, than by a laudable Deſire of preſerving the Glory acquired by many diſtinguiſhed Actions in the Courſe of this War, and particularly about *Pavia*.

Pavia ſurrendered to *Leva*.

By

A. D. 1529.

By this time the War was greatly kindled in *Tuſcany*; for the Prince of *Orange*, as ſoon as he had taken *Spelle*, and the Marquis *del Guaſto*, who followed him with the *Spaniſh* Foot, began to approach his Army, proceeded to the Bridge of *San Janni* near *Perugia* on the *Tiber*, where he was joined by the *Spaniards*. In *Perugia* were Three Thouſand Foot of the *Florentines*; and the Prince had, before he inveſted *Spelle*, ſent a truſty Meſſenger to *Perugia* to perſuade *Malateſta* to ſubmit to the Will of the Pontiff, who, to bring the City of *Perugia* in ſome meaſure under Subjection to himſelf, and out of a Deſire that the Army ſhould proceed forwards, offered *Malateſta*, if he would evacuate *Perugia*, to preſerve his Eſtate and Effects for him, to conſent that he ſhould freely go to the Defence of the *Florentines*, and to be bound that *Braccio* and *Sforza Baglioni*, and the other Enemies of his ſhould not re-enter *Perugia*. And though *Malateſta* had declared that he would not accept of any Conditions without the Conſent of the *Florentines*, yet

Pope's Offers to *Malateſta*.

A. D. 1529. yet he continually gave Ear to the Meſſages of the Prince, who, after the Acquiſition of *Spelle*, plyed him with warmer Inſtances.

Reaſons for his accepting them.

MALATESTA communicated the Affair to the *Florentines*, being inclined without doubt to a Compoſition, becauſe he was apprehenſive of the final Event, and, perhaps, that the *Florentines* would not continue to afford him all the Aſſiſtance that he deſired; and ſuppoſing he was to make an Agreement, he could not hope to agree on better Conditions than thoſe which were propoſed to him, and muſt think it much better that, without offending the Pontiff, and giving him Cauſe to deprive him of his Goods and Eſtates, which were preſerved for him, he ſhould keep his Poſt with the *Florentines*, than, by taking upon him to defend himſelf, to put his State in Danger, and to make himſelf hated by his Friends, and by the whole Town. Wherefore he always perſiſted in aſſuring the *Florentines* that he would come to no Accommodation without them, but withal told them, that if they

they would have *Perugia* defended, it was necessary for them to send thither a fresh Supply of a Thousand Foot, and that the rest of their Troops should make head at *Orsaia*, five Miles from *Cortona*, on the Confines of the *Cortonese* and *Perugine*. This it was impossible for them to do without unfurnishing all the Towns, and yet the Post was so weak that it would be necessary to abandon it at every Movement of the Enemy. He represented to them that, if an Agreement was not made, the Prince would leave *Perugia* behind, and take his March for *Florence*; and in such a Case it would be necessary for them to leave a Thousand serviceable Foot in *Perugia*, which, however, would not be sufficient, because the Pontiff might be in a Condition to distress the City with other Forces without the Imperialists; but, in case of an Agreement, the *Florentines* would draw all their Troops together about them, to be followed by him with Two or Three Hundred choice Men of his own; and that, for his Part, when his Enemies were excluded from *Perugia*, he should with A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. more Eaſe and Satisfaction employ himſelf in their Defence.

THE *Florentines* would have been very well pleaſed to have kept off the War at *Perugia*; but ſeeing that *Malateſta* was continually treating with the Prince, and knowing alſo that he had never intermitted negotiating with the Pontiff, they were apprehenſive that by the Importunity of Friends, the Damages of the City and Country, the Jealouſy of Enemies, and the Inconſtancy of the People, he would at laſt be induced to yield; and it appeared to them very dangerous to beſtow almoſt all the Strength and Flower of their Forces in *Perugia*, expoſed to the dubious Fidelity of *Malateſta*, to the Danger of being forced by the Enemy, and to the Difficulty of making their Retreat if *Malateſta* ſhould come to an Agreement. They conſidered alſo that the Change in *Perugia* could be of little Prejudice to them while the Friends of *Malateſta* remained in the Place, and he kept Poſſeſſion of his Caſtles, and *Braccio* and his Brothers returned not to the City; whence the Pontiff,

tiff, while it remained in that State, could not but ſtand in continual Jealouſy of it. In this doubtful Sollicitude of Mind, regarding above all things the Preſervation of thoſe Troops, and not entirely confiding in the Conſtancy of *Malateſta*, on the 6th of *September* they ſent very privately one of their Agents to remove them out of *Perugia*, fearing they ſhould be circumvented by an Accommodation. But afterwards, on Advice that their Troops durſt not leave the Place on account of the near Approach of the Enemy, they diſpatched a truſty Meſſenger to *Malateſta* with their Conſent that he ſhould make an Agreement. But he had already, while the Meſſenger was on the Road, prevented them: For *Orange* on the 9th of *September* paſſed the *Tiber* at the Bridge of *San Janni*, and having pitched his Camp after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhing, the ſame Night concluded a Convention with *Malateſta*, obliging him to evacuate *Perugia*, with Leave to enjoy his Poſſeſſions, to ſerve the *Florentines* in a military Capacity, and to draw off their Forces in Safety; and, that thoſe Troops might have Time to retire

A. D. 1529.

Florentines conſent to his Acceptance.

A. D. 1529. into the *Florentine* Dominions, *Orange* promiſed to make a Halt with his Army for two Days.

Florentines evacuate Perugia.

THUS on the 12th of *September* the Troops of the *Florentines* marched out of *Perugia*, and making extraordinary Speed arrived the ſame Day at *Cortona* by the Way of the Mountains, which is long and difficult, but ſecure. In this Manner was all the War reduced within the Dominions of the *Florentines*, to whom, though the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Urbino* had given Hopes of ſending them Three Thouſand Foot, which, on Suſpicion of the March of the Prince towards thoſe Parts, they had ordered into the State of *Urbino*, yet, as they were unwilling to diſpleaſe the Pontiff, the Promiſe was not made good; only the *Venetians* gave Money to the Commiſſary *Caſtrocaro* to pay Two Hundred Foot: And yet, though that Senate, and the Duke of *Ferrara* were continually treating of an Accommodation with *Cæſar*, they encouraged the *Florentines* to defend themſelves, that the Difficulty of ſubduing them

them might render him more inclinable to compound with them on eaſy Terms. *A. D.* 1529.

THE *Florentines* had formed two principal Deſigns; one was, to procure the Army to be ſo much retarded in proceeding forwards as to give them Time enough to fortify their City, to the Walls of which they expected that the War would at laſt be reduced; the other, to ſeek by all means to pacify the Indignation of *Cæſar*, even by making an Agreement with the Pontiff, provided that no Alteration was made in the Form of Liberty, and of the popular Government. With theſe Views they had, before the Excluſion of their Ambaſſadors, ſent a Perſon to the Prince of *Orange*, and choſen Ambaſſadors to the Pontiff, inſiſting, when they notified to him the Election, on his procuring a Stop to the March of the Army till their Arrival; which he refuſed. Two Deſigns of the *Florentines* abortive.

THE Prince therefore advancing forwards planted a Battery againſt and ſtormed the Suburb of *Cortona* that looks towards *Orſaia*, but was repulſed. In *Cortona* *Orange* advances and attacks *Cortona*.

A. D. 1529. were Seven Hundred Foot, and in *Arezzo* was a greater Number; but *Antonfranceſco de gli Albizi*, the Commiſſary, was inclined to abandon it for Fear leſt the Prince, after taking *Cortona*, ſhould leave *Arezzo* behind, and march towards *Florence*, and ſo, by preventing thoſe Troops which were with him in *Arezzo*, ſhould ſo far intimidate the *Florentines* as to induce them, for want of the readieſt Succours which they had, to ſubmit to a Compoſition. Wherefore, without public Conſent, though, perhaps, with the tacit Intention of the Gonfalonier, he retired from *Arezzo* with all the Troops, leaving only Two Hundred Men in the Caſtle. But arriving at *Feghine*, by Advice of *Malateſta*, who was there, and approved the drawing the Forces together for the Defence of *Florence*, he remanded a Thouſand Foot to *Arezzo*, that it might not remain wholly abandoned.

Cortona ſurrendered to him.

BUT, on *September* 17, *Cortona*, which required a Thouſand Men for its Defence, ſeeing the *Florentines* not very eager to provide for its Relief, and, perhaps, alſo appriſed

appriſed of the tottering Condition of *Arezzo*, ſurrendered, tho' not much preſſed by the Prince, with whom it compounded to pay Twenty Thouſand Ducats. *A. D.* 1529.

THE Loſs of *Cortona* gave Occaſion to the Foot that were in *Arezzo*, not thinking themſelves ſufficient to defend it, to abandon that City, which on the 19th capitulated alſo with the Prince; but with Articles and Intentions of being governed rather by itſelf in Liberty under the Shadow of *Cæſar*'s Protection, than of remaining any longer in Subjection to the *Florentines*, demonſtrating the Falſhood of the Profeſſion, which the Inhabitants had but lately made of their being Friends to the *Medici*, and Enemies to the Popular Government. As alſo *Arezzo*.

BY this time *Cæſar* had expreſly declared that he was reſolved to give no longer Audience to the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, unleſs the *Medici* were reſtored; and *Orange*, tho' before the Ambaſſadors, who were about him, he deteſted, without Reſpect, the covetous Ambition of the Pope, and the Injuſtice of that Enterpriſe, *Orange* deteſts the *Pope*'s Enterpriſe againſt the Liberty of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1529. priſe, had however declared that he could not avoid proſecuting it without the Reſtitution of the *Medici*.

Number and Strength of his Army.

THE Prince finding himſelf at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horſe, Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Germans*, very fine Troops, Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, Three Thouſand *Italians*, under *Sciarra Colonna*, *Piermaria Roſſo*, *Pierluigi da Farneſe*, and *Giovanbattiſta Savello*, with whom afterwards join'd *Giovanni da Saſſatello*, defrauding the *Florentines*, from whom he had accepted a Command in their Forces, of the Money he had received of them, and, after him, *Aleſſandro Vitelli*, who brought Three Thouſand Foot, yet having but few Cannon requeſted the *Seneſe* to accommodate him. But that People, though in no Condition to refuſe the Army of *Cæſar* the demanded Aſſiſtance, yet out of Hatred to the Pontiff, and a Jealouſy of his Greatneſs, being not at all pleaſed with a Change of the Government of the *Florentines*, with whom, on account of the common Enmity to the Pope, they had for

for many Months maintained a kind of tacit Peace and Intelligence, put in Order the Artillery, but with all the Slowneſs they could poſſibly deviſe. *A. D.* 1529.

In the mean time the Pope had given Audience to the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, and anſwered them that he had no Deſign to make any Change in the Liberty of the City, but that he had been conſtrained to undertake the Enterpriſe, not ſo much by the Injuries he had received from that Government, and by the Neceſſity of ſecuring his own Eſtate, as by the Convention made with *Cæſar*; and that his Honour being now intereſted in the Proſecution of the Undertaking, he demanded nothing of them, but that they would voluntarily put themſelves in his Power, which done, he would demonſtrate how much he had at Heart the Happineſs of their common Country. And when he was afterwards informed that the *Florentines*, their Fears increaſing, eſpecially after they underſtood that their Ambaſſadors had been excluded by *Cæſar*, had elected new Ambaſſadors to be ſent to him, imagin- Pope's Anſwer to the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors.

A. D. 1529 imagining that they were diſpoſed to yield to him, and deſirous of Expedition for preſerving the Country from Ravage, he ſent Poſt to the Army the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, who paſſing through *Florence* found a different Diſpoſition from what he had been made to believe,

Orange retarded in his March.

In the mean time *Orange* advanced forwards, and on the 24th was arrived at *Monte Varchi*, in the *Val d'Arno*, eight Miles diſtant from *Florence*, expecting eight Cannon from *Siena*, which began to move the next Day; but, the ſame Slowneſs being uſed in their Conveyance as was in their Preparation, occaſioned the Prince, who on the 27th was advanced with his Army as far as *Feghine* and *Anciſa*, to remain there encamped till the Fourth of *October*.

Motives of the *Florentines* to an Agreement.

Hence proceeded the Difficulty of that whole Enterpriſe; for, after the Loſs of *Arezzo*, the *Florentines*, finding they were diſappointed of their Hopes, and of the Promiſes made them from every Quarter, and the Fortifications that were making in the City

City on the Side of the Mountains not yet in ſuch a Fowardneſs, though they worked on them with the greateſt Diligence and Sollicitude, as that, in the Opinion of the Soldiers, they could be put in a State of Defence within the Space of eight or ten Days; underſtanding alſo that the Enemy's Army marched forwards, and that *Ramazzotto* being, by the Pope's Order, in Motion with Three Thouſand Foot from the Side of *Bologna*, had paſſed *Firenzuola*, and was entered the *Mugello*, from whence it was feared, he would proceed to *Prato*; they were under a Conſternation, and began to incline to an Agreement, and the ſooner becauſe many fled out of the Town for Fear; ſo that in a Council of the Magiſtracy of Ten, which is appointed to manage Affairs of War, at which were preſent the principal Citizens of that Government, it was the unanimous Opinion to diſpatch away to *Rome* a free and ample Commiſſion to ſubmit themſelves to the Will of the Pontiff. But a Report of this Reſolution being made to the Supreme Magiſtracy, without whoſe Conſent the Reſolution could not

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A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. not be taken, the Gonfalonier, who was obſtinate in the contrary Opinion, oppoſed it, and being joined by the popular Magiſtracy of the Colleges, which participated of the Authority of the Tribunes of the common People of *Rome*, in which happened to be many Perſons of evil Diſpoſitions, and of great Temerity and Inſolence, he prevailed ſo far, being ſupported alſo in his Opinion by the Incitements and Menaces of a Multitude of the Youth, that nothing was determined for this Day. It is however manifeſt that if the Prince, on the next Day, which was the 28th of *September*, had advanced one Encampment forwards, thoſe who contradicted an Agreement would not have been able to reſiſt the Inclination of all the reſt. On ſuch ſlight Cauſes too often depend the Moments of the moſt weighty Affairs!

Fruſtrated by *Orange*'s Want of Expedition.

THIS needleſs Halt of *Orange*, which ſome interpreted as made on purpoſe to cheriſh the War, ſince there was no Neceſſity of Artillery for approaching near to *Florence*, was the Cauſe that many in the City reſumed Courage, and, what was of more

more Importance, the Works, which was continued without the leaſt Intermiſſion by a vaſt Number of Hands, were ſo far advanced, that, before *Orange* moved from that Camp, the Fortifications were judged by the Officers to be in a State of Defence. Hence all Inclination to an Agreement ceaſing, the City became obſtinately bent on defending itſelf; it happening alſo, for a further Security to their Hopes, that *Ramazzotto*, who had brought with him a Rabble of Peaſants without Money, and without Pay, and was come with a Diſpoſition not to fight but to rob, as ſoon as he had plundered all the *Mugello*, retired with his Booty into the *Bologneſe*, where he diſmiſſed all his Troops, who had ſold him the greateſt Part of their Plunder. Thus inſtead of an eaſy War, and what would have been finiſhed with ſmall Damage to any one, there reſulted a moſt grievous and moſt pernicious War, which could not be finiſhed but by the Deſtruction of all the Country, and reducing the City to the Brink of utter Deſolation. A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. On the Fifth of *October*, *Orange* moved from *Feghine*, but marched ſo ſlowly in Expectation of the Artillery from *Siena*, which was not far off, that he did not arrive with all his Troops and Cannon in the Plain of *Ripoli*, Two Miles from *Florence*, before the Twentieth; and on the Twenty-fourth he encamped with all his Army on the Hills near the Fortifications, one Part of the Troops poſting themſelves upon the higher Grounds that overlook the City all along from the Gate of *San Miniato* to that of *San Giorgio*, while another Wing extended themſelves from over-againſt the Gate of *San Miniato* as far as the Road from the Gate of *San Nicolo*.

Orange's Army before *Florence.*

In *Florence* were Eight Thouſand Foot, good Troops; and a Reſolution had been taken to defend *Prato*, *Piſtoia*, *Empoli*, *Piſa*, and *Livorno*, in all which Towns were placed ſufficient Garriſons. As to the other Places the *Florentines* choſe rather to entruſt them to the Fidelity and Diſpoſition of the People, and to the Strength of their Situation, than to put large

Strength of the *Florentines.*

large Bodies of Troops in them for their Defence. *A. D.* 1529.

Sad State of *Tuscany*

BUT now all the Country was full of Adventurers and Free-booters, and the *Seneſe* not only plundered every where, but alſo ſent Troops to ſeize on *Montepulciano*, in Hopes that the Prince would afterwards conſent to their keeping Poſſeſſion of it; but ſome *Florentine* Foot being in the Place, it was luckily defended, and not long after *Napoleone Orſino*, in the Pay of the *Florentines*, arrived there with Three Hundred Horſe, not having thought fit to leave the *Roman* Territories till the Pontiff had ſet out for *Bologna*.

Siege of *Florence*.

ORANGE having encamped his Army, and extended their Quarters to a wide Diſtance on the Hills of *Montici Gallo*, and *Giramonte*, and having procured Pioneers and ſome ſmall Pieces of Artillery from the *Luccheſe*, cauſed a Rampart to be caſt up, with a Deſign, as it was thought, to ſtorm the Baſtion of *San Miniato*, while, on the other Side, the Beſieged, to annoy that Work, planted four Pieces of Cannon

A. D. 1529. non on a Cavalier erected in the Garden of *San Miniato*. The Prince ſoon got Poſſeſſion by ſurrender of the Towns of *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, Places of Importance for facilitating the Convoys of Proviſions from *Siena*. On the Twenty-ninth, *Orange* planted four Cannon on a Redoubt of *Giramonte* againſt the Steeple of *San Miniato*, in order to beat it down, becauſe the Army was greatly annoyed by a Saker planted on it; but in a few Hours two of the Pieces burſt. Wherefore the next Day the Beſiegers brought thither another Cannon, but after making about One Hundred and Fifty Shot in vain, without being able to diſmount the Saker, they ceaſed firing. The Siege of *Florence* being now conſidered by all as a very difficult Undertaking, eſpecially by one Army alone, the Operations began to proceed ſlowly, rather with Skirmiſhes than after the Manner of a Siege. On the Second of *November* there was a great Skirmiſh at the Baſtions of *San Giorgio* and *San Nicolo*, and in the *Roman* Way; and on the Fourth a Culverin was planted on *Giramonte* againſt the Town-houſe, which

was

was opened at the first Shot. While this passed, the Cavalry of the Town made an Excursion into the *Valdipesa*, and took One Hundred Horses, most of them serviceable; and some Horse and Harquebusiers marched out of *Ponte d'Era*, and took Sixty Horses between the *Capanne* and the Tower of *San Romano*. A. D. 1529.

Interview between the Pope and the Emperor.

At this Time the Pontiff being arrived at *Bologna*, *Cæsar*, as is usual with great Princes, came hither after him. For it is the Custom, when two Princes are to come together, for him who is of the greater Dignity to present himself first at the Place appointed, it being esteemed a Mark of Reverence in the Inferior to go to meet with him. *Cæsar* was received by the Pope with very great Honour, and lodged in the same Palace, where they had Rooms contiguous to each other, and it seemed by all the Signs, and the Familiarity that appeared between them, as if they had constantly maintained the greatest mutual Benevolence, and lived in perfect Harmony.

A. D. 1529.

Turks repulſed from Vienna.

THEY were now freed from all Apprehenſions of an Invaſion from the *Turks*; for their Army, which had preſented itſelf, with the Perſon of the Sultan, before *Vienna*, that had a very ſtrong Garriſon of *German* Foot, had not only given ſeveral Aſſaults in vain, but were repulſed with very great Slaughter. Hence deſpairing of Conqueſt, and eſpecially becauſe they had no heavy Cannon for Battery, and being alſo pinched by the Weather, which is very ſharp in thoſe Countries, it being the Month of *October*, they broke up the Siege, and retired, not to ſome neighbouring Quarters, but towards *Conſtantinople*, a March of Three Months.

CÆSAR therefore finding himſelf ſecure from all Apprehenſions on that Side, which had before inclined him, notwithſtanding his Acquiſition of *Pavia*, to agree with the Duke of *Milan*, and alſo induced him to perſuade the Pontiff to think on ſome Method for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*, that, having rid his Hands of the Affairs of *Italy*, he might paſs with all his Troops into *Germany* to the Succour of

of *Vienna* and of his Brother, this Fear now ceasing, began to treat with the Pontiff about their Concerns in *Italy*. What gave the Pontiff most Sollicitude on this Head was the Enterprise against the *Florentines*, on which *Cæsar* also was much bent, as well to satisfy the Pope by observing the Articles of the Convention at *Barcelona*, as becaufe the City being imagined always inclined to the Service of the Crown of *France*, he was pleased with its Depression. For these Reasons the *Florentines* having sent Four Embassadors to the Bope in *Bologna*, who sollicited an Audience of *Cæsar*, he would never grant it, except once, when the Pontiff desired it, from whom also he took the Substance of the Answer that he made them. Wherefore it was concluded to continue the Enterprise; and, becaufe it proved more difficult than the Pontiff had imagined, it was resolved to employ in it the Troops that were in *Lombardy*, and in *Cæsar*'s Pay, if an Opportunity offered for a Composition with the *Venetians* and *Francesco Sforza*; and that the Pope should pay each Month to the Prince of *Orange*, who

A. D. 1529.

Pope and *Cæsar* resolve on prosecuting the War against *Florence*.

A. D. 1529. was come to *Bologna* to treat of thoſe Affairs, Sixty Thouſand Ducats for maintaining thoſe Troops that were already before *Florence*, *Cæſar* being in no Condition to ſupport ſuch great Expences.

Debate on the Property of *Modena* and *Reggio*.

AFTER this a Debate was held on other Concerns of the Pontiff relating to the Affairs of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in which the Pope, to avoid the Charge of Obſtinacy, having propoſed the ſame Objection which he had ready at Hand, and on which he had often harped, that if the Queſtion related only to theſe Towns, it would not be difficult to adjuſt the Matter to *Cæſar*'s Satisfaction; but that, by alienating *Modena* and *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* would remain ſeparated from the Eccleſiaſtic State, ſo as to become of conſequence in a manner alſo alienated; *Cæſar* anſwered that the Point deſerved Conſideration, but while the Forces were employed in the Enterpriſe of *Florence*, he could only make Trial of his Authority. But in his Heart he could have wiſhed that, with the Pope's good Pleaſure, theſe Cities might be given to the Duke of *Ferrara*,

rara, with whom, in his Progreſs to *Bologna*, he had a Conference at *Modena*, and had given him Hopes of uſing his utmoſt Endeavours with the Pontiff for accommodating his Affairs. So artfully had that Duke inſinuated himſelf into his Favour, and had alſo the Addreſs to gain the Affections of thoſe who had an Intereſt with *Cæſar*, ſo that he did not want great Friends in that Court. *A. D.* 1529.

THERE remained two Articles of more Difficulty and Importance, which related to the *Venetians*, and to *Franceſco Sforza*. Though *Cæſar* had not come into *Italy* with an Inclination to make an Agreement with theſe Powers, eſpecially with *Franceſco*, yet meeting with greater Difficulties in the Courſe of his Affairs than he had imagined in *Spain*, and finding it not eaſy to acquire the State of *Milan* ſince the new Alliance which *Franceſco Sforza* had made with the *Venetians*, and further alſo that he had involved himſelf in vaſt Expences for maintaining ſo many Troops as he had brought out of *Spain* and *Germany*, he abated of his former Stiffneſs. And he Reaſon inclining *Cæſar* to Peace.

A. D. 1529. was much the more pliable, becauſe ſollicited by his Brother to paſs into *Germany*, on account of the Tumults of the *Lutherans*, and of other Signs of Innovations which appeared in that Country, whither it was alſo probable the *Turks* would ſometime return. For it was very well known that *Solyman*, when he broke up from *Vienna*, fired with Shame and Indignation, had ſworn that he would ſoon return with a much greater Force. It appearing alſo to *Cæſar* not only unſafe, but hardly honourable to depart out of *Italy*, and leave Things imperfect, he began to incline his Mind, not only to make an Agreement with the *Venetians*, but alſo to pardon *Franceſco Sforza*, for which the Pontiff made great Inſtances, being deſirous of univerſal Quiet, and that *Cæſar* finding himſelf diſengaged from other Enterpriſes might turn all his Arms againſt *Florence*.

What ſtuck with *Cæſar* more than any Thing elſe was, that he fancied it would not be for his Dignity to have it believed that he was induced in a manner by Neceſſity to pardon *Franceſco Sforza*; And

And *Antonio da Leva*, who attended him in *Bologna*, made all poſſible Inſtances with him to take ſome other Reſolution concerning that State, propoſing ſometimes *Aleſſandro* the Pope's Nephew, ſometimes others. But it being a difficult Matter to confer that State on any Perſon with whom *Italy* would reſt contented, and the Pope having no Inclination to ſollicit for his Kindred, it being an Affair not to be accompliſhed without new Wars and new Troubles, *Cæſar* at laſt, inclining to this Opinion, conſented to grant to *Franceſco Sforza* a ſafe Conduct, under the Colour of coming before him to juſtify himſelf, but in fact to reduce Matters to ſome Compoſition, the *Venetians* alſo conſenting to his Coming, becauſe they hoped at the ſame time to introduce an Accommodation of their own Diſputes. A. D. 1529.

Cæſar ſends for *Sforza*.

THE Operations of War however were continued in *Lombardy*; for *Belgiojoſo*, who in the Abſence of *Antonio da Leva* commanded in *Milan*, march'd at the Head of Seven Thouſand Foot to beſiege *Sant' Angelo*, in which were four Companies

A. D. 1529. of Foot of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, and after battering the Place, taking the Advantage of a continued Rain, that rendered uſeleſs the Harquebuſſes which defended the Wall without Covert, he cauſed his Men to approach covered with Targats, and with Swords and Pikes gave the Aſſault, he himſelf courageouſly advancing among the reſt; but the Defendants not being able to keep their Matches lighted in their Hands, and being neceſſitated to fight with other Weapons, began to be diſmayed and broken, and abandon the Walls, ſo that the Enemy finding an Entrance, they were all killed or made Priſoners. After this he had a Deſign to paſs the *Adda*, and Part of the Army having croſſed it by a Bridge laid at *Caſciano* ſome Companies of new-liſted *Spaniards* went off and took their Way to *Milan*; but he prevented them by cauſing that City to take Arms, ſo that not being able to enter the Place they returned back to the Army.

Imperialiſts take *Fort Angelo* by Storm.

A. D. 1529.

BUT notwithſtanding this Succeſs, and that the *Germans* were advanced into the Territories of the *Venetians*, the Negotiations of Peace were ſo cloſely proſecuted that all Thoughts of War were ceaſed. For *Franceſco Sforza*, as ſoon as he arrived at *Bologna*, preſenting himſelf before *Cæſar*, and making his Acknowledgments for the Favour vouchſafed him in granting him Leave to come into his Preſence, humbly repreſented to him that he had ſo much Confidence in his Juſtice, that, with relation to whatever had happened before he was blocked up, by the Marquis of *Peſcara*, in the Caſtle of *Milan*, he deſired no other Security or Safeguard than his own Innocence, and therefore, as far as regarded thoſe Matters, renounced his Safe Conduct; and having the Paper in his Hand, he threw it before him: With which Behaviour of *Sforza Cæſar* was highly ſatisfied.

Sforza appears before *Cæſar*.

IT took up about a Month to debate on the Difficulties of an Accommodation with *Sforza* and the *Venetians*, which at laſt was concluded

A. D. 1529. concluded with both on the 23d of *December*, the Pope taking a world of Pains about it. By the Peace *Franceſco* was obliged to pay to *Cæſar*, within the Space of One Year, Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and Five Hundred Thouſand Ducats more within Ten Years, that is Fifty Thouſand every Year, *Cæſar* keeping Poſſeſſion of *Como* and the Caſtle of *Milan*, which has obliged himſelf to reſign to *Franceſco* on the Firſt Year's Payments; he gave him alſo the Inveſtiture, or confirmed that which had been given him before. To ſatisfy the Payments, and to make Preſents to the great Men about *Cæſar*, *Sforza* laid very heavy Taxes on the City of *Milan*, and on the whole Dutchy, tho' the People were exhauſted by the long and cruel Wars, and by Famine and Peſtilence.

Cæſar makes Peace with *Sforza* and the *Venetians*.

Articles with *Sforza*.

Articles with the *Venetians*.

THE *Venetians* were to reſtore to the Pontiff *Ravenna* and *Cervia* with their Territories, ſaving their Rights, and the Pontiff pardoning all thoſe who had conſpired or acted againſt him. They were to reſtore to *Cæſar*, before the End of *January* next, all that they poſſeſſed in the Kingdom

Kingdom of *Naples*. They were obliged to pay to *Cæſar* the Remainder of the Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, due by the Third Article of the laſt Peace contracted between them, that is, Twenty Five Thouſand Ducats within the next enſuing Month, and Twenty Five Thouſand each Year afterwards, but on Condition that their Places ſhould be reſtored to them within one Year, if they ſhould not be reſtored according to the Tenor of the ſaid Peace, or the Differences adjuſted by common Arbitrators. They were to pay the Exiles each Year Five Thouſand Ducats for the Revenues of their Eſtates, as it had been ordered by the aforeſaid Peace. *Cæſar* was to have of them One Hundred Thouſand Ducats more, Half within Ten Months, and the other Half a Year after. TheRights of the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, reſerved to him in the Convention at *Worms*, againſt the King of *Hungary*, were to be decided. There was to be included in this Peace and Confederacy the Duke of *Urbino*, as an Adherent to, and in the Protection of the *Venetians*. They were to pardon Count *Brunoro da Gambara*; Commerce

A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. merce was to be free to all Subjects of both Sides, and no Receptacle was to be given to Pirates, to the Diſturbance of any of the Parties. It ſhall be lawful for the *Venetians* to continue in the peaceful Poſſeſſion of all that they hold. They ſhall reſtore all thoſe who have been declared Rebels, on account of their Adherence to *Maximilian*, to *Cæſar*, and to the King of *Hungary*, down to the Year 1523. But this Reſtitution ſhall not extend to Goods confiſcated. There ſhall be between the ſaid Parties; not only a Peace, but a perpetual League defenſive for the States of *Italy* againſt any Chriſtian Power. *Cæſar* promiſes that the Duke of *Milan* ſhall keep continually on Foot in his State Five Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, with a good Train of Artillery for the Defence of the *Venetians*, who ſhall do the ſame for the Defence of the Duke of *Milan*; and if any one of theſe States be moleſted, the other ſhall not ſuffer any Convoy of Proviſions or Ammunition, nor Couriers, nor Ambaſſadors of the moleſting Power to paſs through their Dominions, and

ſhall

ſhall prohibit all Aſſiſtance from their Territories, and Paſſage through them to this Potentate and to his Troops. If any Chriſtian Prince, tho' of the higheſt Dignity, ſhall attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, the *Venetians* ſhall be bound to aſſiſt it with Fifteen Light Gallies, well armed. In this Treaty ſhall be comprehended thoſe whom all the nominated, or to be nominated, ſhall recommend, tho' with no further Obligation to the *Venetians* for Defence. If the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhall agree with the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, it is intended that he ſhall be included in this Confederacy. A. D. 1529.

In execution of this Convention *Cæſar* reſtored *Milan*, and the whole Dutchy to *Franceſco Sforza*, and removed all the Soldiers, except thoſe that were neceſſary for the Guard of the City, which he afterwards reſtored alſo at the Time agreed, and the *Venetians* reſtored to the Pontiff the Towns of *Romagna*, and to *Cæſar* the Places which they held in *Puglia*.

End of the XIXth Book.

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF THE

WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XX.

CONTENTS.

War againſt the Florentines, *in which the Prince of* Orange *is killed. The* Florentines, *after a long Siege, ſubdued by Famine, ſubmit to* Cæſar, *who appoints* Aleſſandro d' Medici *Head of their Republic.* Cæſar, *after receiving the Imperial*

rial Crown in Bologna, *takes a Progreſs into* Germany, *from whence he returns, and has another Interview with the Pope in* Bologna. *The Pope, to ſhew himſelf a common Father, has, after this, an Interview with the King of* France *at* Marſeilles, *where a Marriage is agreed between* Henry, *the King's Second Son, and the Pope's Niece* Catarina. *The Pope, ſoon after his Return to* Rome, *ſickens and dies, and is ſucceeded by Cardinal* Farneſe, *who takes the Name of* Paul III.

THIS Peace and Confederacy put an End to thoſe long and burdenſome Wars, which had continued above Eight Years, with ſo many ſhocking Events, and all *Italy* remained free from the tumultuous Noiſe and Perils of Arms, except the City of *Florence*, the War of which had conduced to the Peace of the reſt, but the Peace of the reſt aggravated its War. For as ſoon as the Difficulties, which were under Debate, were digeſted, ſo as to leave no Room to doubt of bringing the Agreement to Perfection, *Cæſar* having removed

A. D. 1529.

A. D. 1529. removed his Troops from the State of the *Venetians*, ſent Four Thouſand *German* Foot, Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, Eight Hundred *Italians*, and above Three Hundred Light Horſe with Twenty Five Pieces of Artillery, to the War againſt the *Florentines*, in which there happened very few Actions, and thoſe hardly worth relating, the Beſiegers not having Reſolution enough to aſſault the City, and thoſe within having no Inclination to try Fortune; for they imagined they had ſufficient Means to defend themſelves for many Months, and were in Hopes that the Enemy, either for Want of Money, or from other Accidents, would not be able to continue long in that Station.

War proſecuted againſt the *Florentines*

Now the Prince had ſent Fifteen Hundred Foot, and Four Hundred Horſe, with Four Pieces of Cannon, to take *Laſtra*, in which were Three Colours of Foot; and, before Succours could arrive from *Florence* the Place was taken, with the Slaughter of about Two Hundred of the Garriſon.

Orange takes Laſtra.

A. D. 1529.

Action to the Advantage of the *Florentines*

IT happened that, on the Night of the Eleventh of *December*, *Stefano Colonna*, with One Thouſand Harquebuſiers, and 400 between Halberds and Partiſans, all in Corſelets, and, after the *Spaniſh* Cuſtom, with their Shirts over their Arms, attacked the Regiment of *Sciarra Colonna* quartered in the Houſes near the Church of *Santa Margherita a Montici*, and killed and took a great Number without loſing a Man.

Melancholy Accident.

ABOUT this Time *Mario Orſino*, and *Giulio da Santa Croce* were both killed with one Cannon Shot in the Garden of *San Miniato*: And

Various Succeſs.

Pirro da Caſtel di Piero, being on his March to attack *Montopoli*, a Town in the Territory of *Piſa*, was intercepted between *Palaia* and *Montopoli* by the Garriſon of *Empoli*, routed, and many of his Men taken Priſoners. *Napoleone Orſino*, with One Hundred and Fifty Horſe, was ſent by the *Florentines* to *Borgo a San Sepolcro*, to put a Stop to the Ravages which *Aleſſandro Vitelli* continually committed in the Country about *Borgo* and *Anghiari*.

A. D. 1529.

But as ſoon as the Troops lately ordered by *Cæſar* had paſſed the *Appennines*, *Piſtoja*, and afterwards *Prato*, being abandoned by the *Florentine* Garriſons, ſurrendered to the Pontiff. Wherefore that Army, having no Impediment behind them, did not go and join the other Troops, but ſtopped at another Part of the *Arno*, encamping at *Peretola*, near the Walls of the City, under the Command of the Marquis *Del Guaſto*, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was Commander in Chief of all the Forces, the Operations being now reduc'd to a Blockade rather than to a formal Siege. At this Time *Pietra Santa* alſo ſurrendered to the Pontiff.

Towns ſurrendered to the Pope

New Troops arrive before *Florence.*

At the End of this Year the Pontiff, at the Sollicitation of *Malateſta Baglione*, who gave him Hopes of an Agreement, ſent directly to him at *Florence Ridolfo Pio*, Biſhop of *Faenza*, with whom Debates were held on various Affairs, partly with the Knowledge of the City for its Benefit, partly in ſecret by *Malateſta* againſt the City, which had no other Effect. It was rather believed that *Malateſta*, whoſe Term of Pay was expiring, had artfully held them

Malateſta Captain General of the *Florentines,*

them, that the *Florentines*, for fear of being abandoned by him, might take him anew into their Service with the Title of Captain General, which he obtained. A. D. 1530.

THE Enterpriſe againſt *Florence* was proſecuted in the Year 1530, when, tho' *Orange*, by beginning to erect new Cavaliers, and to draw new Trenches, made a Show as if he intended to batter the Baſtions at a nearer Diſtance, and eſpecially that of *San Giorgio*, which was very ſtrong, yet partly for want of Skill, and partly for the Difficulty of the Thing, the Deſign was not put in Execution, *Stefano Colonna* being entruſted with the Guard of all the Mount. Siege of *Florence* continues.

IN the Beginning of this Year the *Florentines*, taking Hopes from the Negotiations with the Biſhop of *Faenza*, ſent anew Ambaſſadors to the Pontiff, and to *Cæſar*, but with preciſe Orders to hearken to nothing that ſhould be offered for changing the Government, or diminiſhiug their Authority, ſo that diſagreeing in the principal Article, and not being able to obtain an Audience of *Cæſar*, they ſoon returned Embaſſy of the *Florentines* fruitleſs.

A. D. 1530. to *Florence*, without concluding any Thing.

Reſolution of the *Florentins*

In *Florence* were Nine or Ten Thouſand good Foot, but paid after the Rate of above Fourteen Thouſand; whence the Soldiers defended the City with great Readineſs of Affection and Fidelity, in which the more to confirm them, all the General Officers, convoked in the Church of *San Nicolo*, after hearing Maſs, took, in the Preſence of *Malateſta*, a ſolemn Oath to defend the City till Death. The only Perſon who, in this general Conſtancy of the *Italians*, ſhewed himſelf inconſtant, was *Napoleone Orſino*, who, after receiving Money of the *Florentines*, returned to *Bracciano*, and compounded his Affairs with the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, and promiſed that ſome Officers whom he had ſent to *Florence* ſhould leave that City.

Napoleone Orſino quits their Service.

But the Pontiff, not to be wanting in the utmoſt Diligence for obtaining his Ends, procured that the King of *France* ſhould ſend M. *de Clermont* to *Florence*, to excuſe the Agreement he had made from the

the Neceſſity of recovering his Children, and the Impoſſibility of getting the *Florentines* included in it, exhorting them to an Accommodation on any Terms, provided they were beneficial, and conſiſtent with the Preſervation of Liberty, and offering in a manner his Mediation. He commanded alſo *Malateſta* and *Stefano Colonna*, as Servants of the King, and ſtrictly charged them, to depart out of *Florence*, though apart and in ſecret he adviſed them to the contrary. But what contributed more to the Loſs of the Reputation, and to the Terror of the People, was that, to ſatisfy the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, the King recalled his Ambaſſador M. *de Vigny* ordinarily reſident in *Florence*, leaving them however, as a private Perſon, *Æmile Ferrier*, that they might not wholly deſpair, and alſo ſecretly promiſing to aſſiſt them as ſoon as he had recovered his Children. He was alſo on the Point of diſmiſſing the *Florentine* Ambaſſador from his Court, the Pontiff uſing all Arts and Means for his Diſmiſſion. With this View he ſent by *Tarbes* a Cardinal's Hat to the Chancellor, and not long after the

A. D. 1530.

French Ambaſſador leaves *Florence.*

A. D. 1530 Legateſhip of the Kingdom of *France*. *Tarbes* was alſo employed by the Pontiff to ſet on foot a Treaty for a new Interview between *Cæſar*, the King of *France*, and himſelf at *Turin*. But Anſwer was made to *Tarbes*, in the King's Council, that while the Children remained in Priſon it would be Folly for the King to go and wilfully run himſelf into the ſame Condition.

THE Pontiff and *Cæſar* appointed afterwards to go to *Siena*, that they might be nearer at hand for favouring the Enterpriſe againſt *Florence*, and after that to proceed to *Rome*, where *Cæſar* was to receive the Imperial Crown. But as they were on the Point of ſetting out, whether it was a true or a feigned Reſolution, arrived Letters from *Germany*, ſolliciting *Cæſar*'s Preſence in that Country, the Electors and Princes being urgent with him, on account of the Diet, *Ferdinand* that he might be elected King of the *Romans*, and others with a View to a Council. Deſiſting therefore from his Intention of proceeding further, he received the Imperial

perial Crown in *Bologna*, amidſt a great Concourſe, but with little Pomp and Coſt, on the Feſtival of *St. Matthias*, a Day to him of the greateſt Proſperity, for on that Day he was born, on the ſame had taken the King of *France* Priſoner, and on that Day he aſſumed the Enſigns and Ornaments of the Imperial Dignity. *A. D.* 1530. *Cæſar* crowned at *Bologna*

CÆSAR however, before his Departure, had a Regard to the Reconciliation of the Duke of *Ferrara* with the Pontiff. The Duke on the 7th of *March* repaired to *Bologna* under a ſafe Conduct, when, no other Way being found to terminate their Differences, they made a Compromiſe, both as to Right and Fact, of all their Controverſies, in the Perſon of *Cæſar:* To which the Pontiff was induced by the general Notion of the Compromiſe including in it the Controverſy about *Ferrara*, which, it was not doubted, was, according to Law, devolved to the Apoſtolic See, and therefore he fancied that *Cæſar* had an eaſy Way, by enjoining him Silence touching *Ferrara*, to reſtore to him *Modena* and *Reggio*; and becauſe Pope and D. of *Ferrara* chuſe *Cæſar* Arbitrator.

A. D. 1530. *Cæſar* had paſſed his Word to him, that if he ſhould find that he had a Right to thoſe two Cities he would pronounce Judgment, but if he found it otherwiſe he would then leave the Compromiſe to expire. And, to ſecure the Obſervance of the Sentence that ſhould be given, they agreed that the Duke ſhould depoſit *Modena* in the Hands of *Cæſar*, at whoſe Inſtances he had before recalled his Ambaſſador from *Florence*, and ſent Pioneers to the Army.

Cæſar departs for *Germany*. AFTER this *Cæſar* ſet out from *Bologna* on the 22d of *March*, the Pontiff profeſſing to him his Intention to conſent to a Council, if it ſhould be judged of Service for extirpating the Hereſy of the *Lutherans*. *Cæſar* was attended by the Legate Cardinal *Campeggio*, and when he was arrived at *Mantua* he received Sixty Thouſand Ducats from the Duke of *Ferrara*, on which Conſideration he granted him the Town of *Carpi* in perpetual Fee. The Pontiff alſo quitted *Bologna* on the 31ſt, and ſet out towards *Rome*, the Affairs of *Florence* remaining under the ſame Difficulties.

THE

THE Imperialiſts gave many Signs of an Intention to ſtorm the City of *Florence*, for which Purpoſe they worked on the Trench before the Baſtion of *San Giorgio*, where on the 21ſt of *March* was a great Skirmiſh, in which the Beſiegers received a conſiderable Loſs. On the 25th *Orange* battered the Tower at the Side of the Baſtion of *San Giorgio* towards the *Roman* Gate, becauſe it greatly annoyed the Army; but finding it very ſolid, after ſpending much Powder and Ball, he deſiſted. Not a Day paſſed without a Conflux of more Troops to the Army, for as there were no Wars, nor any Plunder to be got elſewhere in *Italy*, the Damages and Ruin of the Country of the *Florentines* continually increaſed. *A. D.* 1530. Siege of *Florence*.

THE City of *Volterra* had ſurrendered to the Pontiff, but the Caſtle holding out for the *Florentines* was battered, in the Name of the Imperialiſts, by two Cannons and three Culverins brought from *Genoa*. The *Florentines*, deſirous to relieve it, ordered to *Empoli* One Hundred and Fifty Horſe, and five Colours of Foot.

The

A. D. 1530. The Infantry marched out by Night, and paſſed through the Camp near *Monte Uliveto*, but being diſcovered by the Enemy ſome Horſe were diſpatched after them, who came up with them, but on receiving the Fire of the Harquebuſiers retired with ſome Loſs; and the Horſe, which had marched out of *Florence* by another Way behind the Camp, arrived at the ſame time with the Foot in Safety at *Empoli*, where they were received by *Franceſco Ferruccio*, Commiſſary of that Place. This Officer, having been ſent, in the Beginning of the War, by the *Florentines* to *Empoli*, Commiſſary of a ſmall Body of Horſe, with very little Authority, had, in the Progreſs of the War, by the Commodiouſneſs of the Situation, and by the Opportunities of frequent Booties, got together a good Number of choice Soldiers, with whom, by his Boldneſs and Liberality, having worked himſelf into great Reputation, the *Florentines* had no mean Expectations of him. *Ferruccio* then marched from *Empoli* with Two Thouſand Foot and One Hundred and Fifty Horſe, and making great Speed

entered

entered the Caſtle of *Volterra* on the 26th of *April*, three Hours before Night, and after allowing the Soldiers ſome Time for Refreſhment, immediately aſſaulted the Town, which was defended by *Giovambattiſta Borgheſe* with a few Foot, and made himſelf Maſter before Night of two Entrenchments, ſo that the next Morning the City was yielded, and he gained alſo the Cannon tnat was tranſported from *Genoa*. He now applied himſelf to draw Money by manifold Extorſions from the Inhabitants of *Volterra*, and the Number of his Soldiers continually increaſing, he had like to have cauſed *San Gimignano* and *Colle* to revolt, and by intercepting the Proviſions that came by that Rout from *Siena*, would have greatly diſtreſſed the Imperial Army, whoſe Generals now placing all their Hopes in a Blockade, the Marquis *del Guaſto* drew off the Artillery to *Prato*. But *Maramaus* fortunately arriving in thoſe Quarters with Two Thouſand Five Hundred Foot not in Pay, (a Relief come, ſo uncertain are the Affairs of War! contrary to the Will of the Pontiff) checked the Career of *Ferruccio*, by marching

A. D. 1530.

City of *Volterra* retaken by *Feruccio*.

A. D. 1530. marching and encamping with his Troops in the Suburb of *Volterra*.

On the 9th of *May* was a great Skirmiſh without the *Roman* Gate, in which the Beſieged had One Hundred and Thirty Men killed and wounded, and the Beſiegers above Two Hundred, among whom was killed *Baragnino*, a *Spaniſh* General Officer. The *Florentines* ſtill expected ſome Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*, who continued to promiſe them very conſiderable Succours as ſoon as he had recovered his Children; and, to feed them in the mean time with Hopes, he gave an Aſſignment to the *Florentine* Merchants for Twenty Thouſand Ducats, due to them long before, that they might lend them to the City, which were brought to *Piſa* by *Luigi Alamanni*, but at ſeveral times, ſo that they proved of little Service. There came alſo to *Piſa* *Giampaolo da Ceri*, hired by the *Florentines* for the Guard of that City.

Florentines hope for Aſſiſtance from *France*.

Empoli taken and ſacked.

But the Recovery of *Volterra* produced a much greater Loſs to the *Florentines*;

tines; for *Ferruccio*, contrary to the Orders he had received, had left ſo ſmall a Garriſon in *Empoli*, confiding in the Strength of the Place, and that he might go the ſtronger to *Volterra*, hat the Imperialiſts, encouraged with Hopes of taking it, marched under the Command of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and laid Siege to it, and with very little Loſs took it by Force, and put it to the Sack. The Loſs of this Place afflicted the *Florentines* more than any other Event that had happened in that War. For, having deſigned to aſſemble a freſh Body of Troops in that Place, they were in Hopes from the Conveniency of its Situation, which is very conſiderable, to reduce the Army that lay encamped on that Part of the *Arno* under great Difficulties, and to open a Way for conveying Proviſions to the City, which already ſuffered greatly by Dearth. A. D. 1530.

BESIDES this they had a new Occaſion given them for deſponding ſtill more, and giving up the Hopes they had conceived: For the King of *France* having, in the Beginning of *June*, paid *Cæſar* the Money *Florentines* diſappointed of *French* Succours.

A. D. 1530. ney according to their Agreement, and had his Children reſtored to him, inſtead of ſuch great Aſſiſtances as he had always ſaid he reſerved for that Time, at the Inſtances of the Pontiff, who, to get the *French* Miniſters wholly at his Devotion, created the Biſhop of *Tarbes*, the King's Ambaſſador reſident with him, a Cardinal, ſent *Pierfranceſco da Pontriemoli*, a Confident of his, into *Italy*, to negotiate a Treaty of Agreement with the *Florentines*, who, on this Account, loſt all Hopes of Aſſiſtanee from the King, ſince alſo he together with the King of *England* did their utmoſt in concert to conciliate to themſelves the Pontiff, ſo as to give them Hopes of ſeparating him from *Cæſar*, and with this View the King of *France* laboured to gain ſome Share of his Favour and Acknowledgments, by cauſing the *Florentines* to come under his Power.

Imperialiſts repulſed from *Volterra*.

As ſoon as the Marquis *del Guaſto* had taken *Empoli* he marched with thoſe Troops to join *Maramaus* in the Suburb of *Volterra*; and making together Six Thouſand

Thouſand Foot they ſet about battering the Place, and having made a Breach of about Forty Braces, they gave three Aſſaults in vain, with the Loſs of above Four Hundred Men. They then erected a new Battery, and gave a vigorous Aſſault with *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Foot mixed together, but were repulſed with greater Loſs than in the former Aſſault, ſo that the Siege was raiſed. *A. D.* 1530.

THE ſame Day, an Hour before Light, *Stefano Colonna* ſallied out of the Gate of *Faenza*, and *Malateſta* out of the Poſtern of *Prato*, with Three Thouſand Foot, their Shirts over their Arms, to attack the *Germans* quartered in the Monaſtery of *San Donato*, which they had fortified. *Stefano* paſſed the Trenches, and killed many of the Enemy, but the reſt in the mean time getting in Order, made a reſolute Defence; and *Stefano*, wounded in the Mouth, and in the privy Member, tho' but ſlightly, retired, not daring to tarry long for fear of Succours, and grievouſly complaining of *Malateſta* for not ſeconding him. *Florentines* make a Sally.

THE

A. D. 1530. THE Dearth of Proviſions increaſed in *Florence*, which no longer received Supplies from any Quarter, and yet the Obſtinacy of the People was not at all diminiſhed; and *Ferruccio* being come from *Volterra* to *Piſa*, and aſſembling as many Troops as poſſible, all the Hopes of the *Florentines* reſted on his Arrival. For they had ſent him Orders, that by any Way, and at all Hazards, he ſhould put himſelf on his March to come to them, deſigning, as ſoon as he had joined the Troops in *Florence*, to march out and attack the Enemy. In this Deſign the Happineſs of the Succeſs was no greater than the Raſhneſs of the Reſolution had been extraordinary, if thoſe Counſels can be called raſh which are prompted by the laſt Neceſſity; for a Paſſage muſt be made through hoſtile Countries, in the Poſſeſſion of a very numerous Army, tho' diſperſed into many Places.

THE Prince, having Notice of the Deſign, took a Part of the Army, and, reinforcing it with ſeveral Bodies of *Italian* Foot, having perhaps, as the *Florentines* ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, received private Aſſurances from *Malateſta Baglione*, with whom he held very cloſe Correſpondence, that he would not attack the Army in his Abſence, put himſelf on his March to encounter *Ferruccio*; and finding him near *Cavinana*, in the Mountain of *Piſtoja*, which Road he had taken in paſſing from *Piſa*, on the Side of *Lucca*, out of Confidence in the Faction of the *Cancellieri*, which affected popular Government, attacked him with a much ſuperior Force. Here the Prince, performing rather the Duty of a private Man at Arms than of a General, raſhly puſhing himſelf forwards, was killed; his Troops however obtained the Victory, in which, among many others, were taken *Giampaolo da Ceri*, and alſo *Ferruccio*, who being thus a Priſoner, was killed by *Maramaus*, out of a Spleen, as it was ſaid, conceived againſt him, when, in the Siege of *Volterra*, he ordered a Trumpet, whom he had ſent into the Place with a certain Meſſage, to be hanged.

A. D. 1530.

Prince of *Orange* killed.

Ferruccio maſſacred

THE *Florentines*, thus abandoned of all divine and human Aſſiſtance, and the Famine

A. D. 1530.

mine prevailing without any further Hopes of Relief, yet greater was the Obſtinacy of thoſe who oppoſed an Agreement. Theſe Men, induced by the laſt Deſperation not to ſuffer their own Ruin to be unattended with the Deſtruction of their Country, and no longer debating whether they or others of the Citizens ſhould die to ſave their Country, but willing to have their Country periſh together with them, were alſo followed by many, who had an Impreſſion on their Mind that God would certainly vouchſafe miraculous Aſſiſtance, but that it would not appear before Affairs were reduced to ſuch Extremities as to be in a manner quite without Reſource. And there was Danger that the War would end with the utter Extermination of that City, becauſe the Magiſtrates, and almoſt all thoſe who had the public Authority in their Hands, concurred in this Obſtinacy, there remaining no Room for others, who were of contrary Sentiments, to offer any thing in Contradiction for Fear of the Magiſtrates, and the Menaces of Arms, if *Malateſta Baglione*, knowing the Caſe remedileſs, had not in a manner forced

Diſtreſs and Obſtinacy of the *Florentines.*

Malateſta & Neceſſity compel them to a Submiſſion.

forced them to agree; induced perhaps meerly by Pity to ſee ſo famous a City wholly ruined by the Madneſs of its Citizens, and the Diſgrace and Damage that would reſult to himſelf from being preſent at ſo great a Deſolation; but much more, as it is ſuppoſed, from the Hopes of obtaining Leave of the Pope, by means of this Agreement, to return to *Perugia*. Wherefore while the Magiſtracy, and thoſe of hotter Spirits were debating on giving Orders to the Troops to march out of the City, and engage with the Enemy, who were much more numerous, and ſtrongly poſted, and *Malateſta* refuſed, they grew to ſuch a Height of Diſtraction, that they diſcharged him from his Command, and ſent ſome of the moſt pertinacious among them to give him Notice of it, with Orders to depart with his Troops out of the City. This Declaration put him in ſuch a Rage, that with a Poniard, which he had by his Side, he wounded one of them, and would have killed him, had he not been reſcued by the Attendants. The others being in a Conſternation, and the City beginning to riſe, thoſe who were A. D. 1530.

A. D. 1530. not ſo mad as the reſt, repreſſed the Raſhneſs of the Gonfalonier, who armed himſelf, and threatened ſometimes to attack *Malateſta*, and ſometimes to march out and fight the Enemy.

At laſt the extreme Obſtinacy of Many gave Place to the extreme Neceſſity of All, and therefore on the Ninth of *Auguſt* Four Embaſſadors were deputed to Don *Ferrando da Gonzaga*, who, ſince the Death of the Prince, had the chief Command of the Army, the Marquis *Del Guaſto* having left the Camp long before, and the next Day a Convention was concluded. The principal Articles, beſides obliging the City to pay, within a very few Days, Eighty Thouſand Ducats for removing the Army, imported, that the Pope and the City ſhould give Authority to *Cæſar* to declare, within Three Months, what ſhould be the Form of Government, with a Reſerve however to Liberty: That there ſhould be a general Amneſty of all Injuries done to the Pope, his Friends and Servants; and that, till the Declaration arrived from *Cæſar*, *Malateſta Baglione* ſhould remain with

Articles of their Agreement.

Two

Two Thouſand Foot for the Guard of the City. A. D. 1530.

THE Agreement being made, while the Money was getting ready for paying off the Army, for which there was Occaſion for a much larger Sum, the Pope not being very forward to aſſiſt the City with Money in ſo great an Exigency, *Bartolomeo Valori*, who was the Apoſtolic Commiſſary, concerting Meaſures with *Malateſta* wholly intent on his Return to *Perugia*, called an Aſſembly of the People in Parliament in the Great Square, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the City, the Magiſtrates and the reſt giving way to it out of Fear, and there inſtituted a new Form of Government, giving Authority by Parliament to twelve Citizens, Adherents to the *Medici*, to ſettle the Government of the City after their Manner, who reduced it to the ſame Form in which it uſually ſtood before the Year One Thouſand Five Hundred Twenty-ſeven. Government of the *Florentines* changed.

AFTER this, the Army decamped, having received the Money, which the *Italian* Decampment of the Army

A. D. 1530. *lian* Officers, to convert to their own Uſe, and to defraud the Soldiers, to the great Scandal of the military Profeſſion, carried off with them into *Florence*, diſmiſſing with a very ſmall Sum the Foot, who, remaining without Leaders, diſperſed themſelves into various Parts. The Army of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, being paid off to the full, upon evacuating all the Towns and Dominion of the *Florentines*, took their March into the Territory of *Siena*, to new-model the Government of that City: And *Malateſta Baglione*, the Pope granting him leave to return to *Perugia*, without waiting for any other Declaration from *Cæſar*, left the City of *Florence* at the arbitrary Diſpoſal of the Pontiff.

City left to the Pope.

Now, as ſoon as all the Soldiers were departed out of *Florence*, began the Puniſhments and Perſecutions of the Citizens. For thoſe, into whoſe Hands the Government was transferred, partly for the better Security of the State, partly out of Hatred to the Authors of ſuch great Evils, and from the Remembrance of private Injuries, but principally becauſe ſuch was the Intention

Intention of the Pontiff, tho' manifeſted to few, interpreted the Article by which Pardon was promiſed to thoſe who had injured the Pontiff and his Friends, regarding, perhaps, the ſuperficial Import of the Words, but perverting the Senſe, as not intended to cancel the Injuries and Offences committed by them in the Affairs of the Republic. Wherefore the Cogniſance of them being committed to the Magiſtrates, ſix of the principal Delinquents were beheaded, others impriſoned, and a very great Number baniſhed. By theſe Proceedings the City became more weakened, and thoſe who had been concerned in the late Troubles being depreſſed, and reduced to greater Neceſſities, the Power of the *Medici* become more free, more abſolute, and in a manner regal in *Florence*; which was left very much exhauſted of Money by ſo tedious and burdenſome a a War, deprived within and without of many Inhabitants, its Houſes and Subſtance abroad deſtroyed, and more than ever divided within itſelf. And this Poverty was rendered yet greater by the Neceſſity of procuring, for ſeveral Years, Proviſions

A. D. 1530.

Vindictive Severity of the new Governors.

Afflicted State of the City.

A. D. 1530. from foreign Regions to ſupply the Wants of the Country, ſince there had been no Harveſt this Year, nor Seed ſown afterwards; and the Diſorders of the preſent Year had ſo great an Influence on ſucceeding Years, that more Money went out of that City, exhauſted above Meaſure and afflicted, for procuring Corn from far diſtant Places, and Cattle from without its Dominion, than had been iſſued on account of ſo burdenſome a War, and full of ſuch great Expences.

Ferdinand elected King of the *Romans*.

CÆSAR in the mean time having called a Diet at *Auſburg* in *Germany*, had procured *Ferdinand*, his Brother, to be choſen King of the *Romans*. And Debates being held on the Affairs of the *Lutherans*, who gave Umbrage even to the Power of the Princes, and were divided by the Multitude and Ambition of the Sectaries into divers Hereſies, and ſuch as were in a manner contrary one to another, and to *Martin Luther*, the Author of that Plague, whoſe Life and Authority, ſo greatly was the Venom diffuſed and radicated, were no longer of any Conſideration,

Affairs of the *Lutherans*.

tion, the Princes of *Germany* could think of no better Remedy than the Celebration of a General Council. For even the *Lutherans*, ſeeking to cover their Cauſe with the Authority of Religion, inſiſted on having it done; and it was believed that the Authority of the Decrees, to be iſſued by the Council, would be ſufficient, if not to turn the Minds of the Chiefs of the Heretics from their Errors, at leaſt to reduce a Part of the Multitude to a better Opinion and Sentiments. Beſides, a Council was greatly deſired in *Germany*, even by thoſe who followed the Catholick Opinions, for the Reformation of the Grievances and Abuſes paſſed over by the Court of *Rome*, which, by the Authority of Indulgences, by the Largeneſs of Diſpenſations, by demanding Annates of Benefices that were conferred. together with the Coſts of expediting them in the exorbitantly multiplied Offices of that Court, ſeemed to mind nothing but how to exact, by theſe Arts, great Sums of Money from all Chriſtendom, taking no care in the mean time of the Salvation of Souls, nor that

A. D. 1530.

Abuſes in the Court of *Rome*.

Eccleſi-

A. D. 1530. Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſhould be rightly governed, ſo that many incompatible Benefices were conferred on the ſame Perſon, and without Regard to Merit beſtowed for Favour, either on Men incapacitated by Age, or wholly deſtitute of Learning and Literature, and, what is worſe, frequently on Perſons of mo profligate Manners.

Cæſar ſollicits the Pope to call a General Council.

CÆSAR, deſirous to ſatisfy theſe Inſtances of all *Germany*, and becauſe it was alſo conducive to his own Affairs in that Country to ſuppreſs the Occaſions of the tumultuous and refractory Diſpoſition of the People, earneſtly ſollicited the Pontiff, putting him in mind of the Diſcourſe they had together at *Bologna*, to bring on the Council, promiſing him, for removing all Apprehenſions of endangering his Authority and Dignity, to be preſent at it himſelf, in order to take a particular Care of him.

Reaſons of the Pope's Averſion to a General Council.

NOTHING was more diſpleaſing to the Pope; but, to preſerve the Eſteem of his good Diſpoſition, he diſſembled this Inclination,

nation, or Cauſe of Fear. However being really apprehenſive that the Council, in order to reſtrain the Abuſes of the Court, and the indiſcreet Conceſſions of many Pontiffs, would too much diminiſh the pontifical Power; or remembering, that tho', when he was promoted to the Cardinalſhip, it had been proved that his Birth was legitimate, yet that the contrary was true in fact, and that, tho' there was no written Law that prohibited one born in that Manner from aſcending to the Pontificate, yet it was an inveterate and common Opinion that one illegitimate could not be created a Cardinal; or recalling to mind that his Aſſumption to the Pontificate had not been free from a Suſpicion of Simony practiſed upon Cardinal *Colonna*; or doubting that the great Severity with which he had uſed his own Country, ſtirring up mighty Armies, and plaguing her with all the Miſeries of War, would caſt an indeleble Infamy upon him in the Eyes of the Council, eſpecially ſince it was apparent by Effects that he was not moved by a Deſire to reduce her to a good and moderate

A. D. 1530.

A. D. 1530. moderate Government, as he had publiſhed in the Beginning, but by an immoderate Ambition of forcing her to return under Servitude to his Family: For theſe Reaſons abhorring a Council, and not thinking the Promiſe of *Cæſar* ſufficient for his Security, having communicated Affairs to the Cardinals appointed to the Diſcuſſion of this Matter, who were alſo themſelves afraid of the Correction of a Council, he anſwered by ſhewing many Reaſons why it was not a proper Time to treat of calling a Council, ſince it did not appear that Peace was as yet well eſtabliſhed among the Chriſtian Princes, and new Motions were apprehended from the *Turk*, at which Juncture it would by no means be proper that Chriſtendom ſhould be found employed in the Diſputes and Contentions of a Council. However, to ſhew that he referred himſelf to *Cæſar*'s Diſcretion on the Point, he concluded that he was content that his *Cæſarean* Majeſty ſhould promiſe in the Diet the Notification of a General Council, provided it were to be celebrated in *Italy*, himſelf preſent at it, and a fit Time aſ-

His Anſwer to the Emperor.

ſigned

aſſigned for their aſſembling together; and that the *Lutherans*, and other Heretics, promiſing to ſtand to the Determination of the Council, would in the mean time deſiſt from their Corruptions, and returning to their Obedience to the Apoſtolic See lived as they uſed to do before, and like Catholic Chriſtians. *A. D.* 1530.

THIS laſt Difficulty obſtructed the Progreſs of the whole Affair; for the *Lutherans* were not only incapable of being induced to forſake their Doctrines and Rites before the Celebration of a Council, but it was commonly believed that they abhorred a Council, not being able to expect any other Fruit from it than a Condemnation of their Opinions, ſince the greater Part of them, and the more conſiderable Points, had been ſeveral times condemned as heretical by the antient Councils; but demanded the convoking of ſuch an Aſſembly, becauſe, knowing that it was a formidable Point to the Pontiff, they were perſuaded that it would not be granted, by which means they would ſupport the Reputation of their Cauſe

Why *Lutherans* ſollicit a Council.

A. D. 1531. Cauſe with the greater Authority among the People.

With theſe Agitations and Perplexities of Affairs ended the Year 1530, and ſucceeded the Year 1531, that afforded ſo little Matter for Movements. For tho' it was diſcovered, by many Signs, that the King of *France* was diſſatisfied at the Agreement he had made with *Cæſar*, and very deſirous of new Commotions, and that alſo the King of *England* inclined the ſame Way, being provoked againſt *Cæſar* becauſe, in Defence of his Mother's Siſter, he oppoſed him in the Caſe of the Divorce, yet the King of *France*, being exhauſted of Money, and not having yet taken his due Repoſe after the Troubles and Fatigues of ſuch long Wars, it was not as yet a ſeaſonable Time to excite Innovations. But in the mean time he employed himſelf in holding a Correſpondence both in *Germany* with the Princes who were diſaffected to *Cæſar*, and in *Italy* with the Pontiff, propoſing to him, in order to gain his Good Will, a Match between his Second Son and

His

His Holineſs's Niece; and, what was a greater Offence to God, and a terrible Reproach to the Crown of *France*, which had always made a particular Profeſſion of defending the Chriſtian Religion, on the Merit of which it had obtained the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, he held Intelligence with the Prince of the *Turks*, in order to provoke him againſt *Cæſar*, towards whom he was uſually ill-diſpoſed, both by his natural Hatred to the Chriſtian Name, and on account of the Controverſy which he had with his Brother, who was contending for the Kingdom of *Hungary* with the Vaivod, whom *Solyman* had taken under his Protection, and alſo becauſe the Greatneſs of *Cæſar* began to give Umbrage to the *Turk* himſelf.

A. D. 1531.

King of *France* excites the *Turk* againſt the Emperor.

At this time the Imperial Generals decamped with the Army from the Territory of *Siena*, to march for *Piedmont*, having, to the Pope's Satisfaction, reſtored thoſe of the *Monte del Nove* to the Enjoyment of their Country and Eſtates in *Siena*, without altering the Form of Government, and left in the Place, for their Security,

Affairs of *Siena*.

A. D. 1531. Security, a Garriſon of 300 *Spaniſh* Foot, dependent on the Duke of *Malfi*, who, for want of knowing how to preſerve his Authority, ſoon ſuffered Affairs there to run into the ſame Diſorders, ſo that they who had been reſtored removed themſelves again out of Fear.

Cæſar's Declaration on the Government of Florence.

CÆSAR alſo now declared the Form of Government of *Florence* *, diſſembling that Part of the Authority granted him, which was limited by the Salvo of Liberty; for, according to the very Inſtructions which the Pope had ſent him, he pronounced that the City ſhould be governed by the ſame Magiſtrates, and after the ſame Manner, by which it uſed to be governed in Times when the *Medici* held it; and that *Aleſſandro*, who was the Pontiff's Nephew, and his own Son-in-law, ſhould be the Head of the Government, and, in Default of Iſſue, ſhould be ſucceeded one after another by the Children, Deſcendents, and Neareſt of the ſame Family. He reſtored to the City all the Privileges granted

* On *July* 27, when all the Magiſtrates took an Oath to obſerve the new Form of Government introduced in Favour of the *Medici Giovio*.

granted at other times by himſelf, or by his Predeceſſors, but on condition that they ſhall be forfeited whenever the Citizens ſhall make any Attempt againſt the Grandeur of the Family of the *Medici*; inſerting in the whole Decree ſuch Words as ſhewed that it was founded not only in the Power granted him by the Parties, but alſo on the Imperial Authority and Dignity. A. D. 1531.

In this Affair *Cæſar* having ſatisfied the Pontiff, perhaps, beyond the Power granted him by the Compromiſe, ſoon after offended him in a Point that touched him very nearly. For when the Controverſy between the Pontiff and the Duke of *Ferrara* had been heard and examined by ſeveral Doctors of Laws, into whoſe Hands he had committed it, and many Witneſſes and Papers had been produced on both Sides, he pronounced, purſuant to their Counſel and Report, that *Modena* and *Reggio* belonged of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and that the Pontiff, on receiving of the Duke 100,000 Ducats, ſhould reduce the Tribute to the antient Rate, *Cæſar* gives Sentence for the Duke of *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1531. and re-inveſt him with the Juriſdiction of *Ferrara*.

His Excuſe to the Pope.

CÆSAR endeavoured to convince the Pontiff, that if, contrary to the Promiſe he had made in *Bologna*, not to pronounce at all in caſe he ſhould find his Cauſe not to be juſt, he had however pronounced, he ought to complain, not of him, but of the Biſhop of *Vaſone*, his Nuncio, to whom he had not failed to ſignify his Intention not to pronounce Sentence, that he might not be conſtrained to give Judgment againſt the Pope; but that the Biſhop, perſuaded of the contrary, and that this was ſaid in order to be diſcharged of the Promiſe made him to give Sentence if Right appeared on his Side, had been ſo importunate with him to pronounce, that he had been neceſſitated to do it for the Preſervation of his own Honour: An Excuſe, which, perhaps, would have been more ſatisfactory, if the Judgment had not been the ſame in effect as that to which *Cæſar* had often attempted to reduce the Matter by an Agreement.

THE

A. D. 1531

THE Pontiff was yet much more offended on obſerving that *Cæſar*, in pronouncing on the Affair of *Modena* and *Reggio*, had imitated the Example of a rigorous Judge, but in that of *Ferrara*, in which Rigor was manifeſtly on his Side, he had acted the Part of a friendly Mediator. Wherefore he would not ratify the Judgment given, nor take the Money that the Duke had been ſentenced to pay, and at the next Feſtival of *St. Peter* he would not accept the Tribute offered to him, according to the ancient manner, in public.

Pope highly offended with him.

CÆSAR however did not fail on this Account to reſign *Modena*, which City he had long held in Depoſit, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, leaving afterwards him and the Pope to decide their Differences between themſelves; whence, for many Months, there was neither open War nor ſecure Peace between them, the Pontiff being wholly intent either on oppreſſing the Duke by Treachery, or waiting an

Modena reſigned to the Duke of Ferrara.

A. D. 1532. Opportunity to attack him openly, with the Aſſiſtance of greater Princes.

Vaſt Preparations of the *Turks* and Chriſtians fruitleſs.

THIS Year, 1531, had no other Events, and the ſame quiet Courſe of Affairs continued the next Year, 1532, which was more dangerous on account of foreign Wars, than of any Movements in *Italy*. For the *Turk*, irritated by the Diſgrace of being repulſed from *Vienna*, and informed that *Cæſar* was in *Germany*, prepared a very numerous Army, magnifying his warlike Proviſions, and publiſhing that he intended to take the Field in order to conſtrain *Cæſar* to come to a Battle with him. At the Fame of theſe Preparations both *Cæſar* put himſelf in the beſt Order that he could, cauſing alſo the Marquis *del Guaſto* to paſs into *Germany* with the *Spaniſh* Troops, and with a great Body of *Italian* Horſe and Foot; and the Pontiff promiſed to aſſiſt him with 40,000 Ducats each Month, and ſent on that Expedition the Cardinal *de' Medici*, his Nephew, as Apoſtolic Legate; and the Princes and Free Towns of *Germany* prepared a very

very great Army in favour of *Cæſar*, and in defence of their common Country. A. D. 1532. But the Effects proved very unequal to the Fame and Terror; for *Solyman* having entered *Hungary* late in the Year, not being able to arrive there ſooner on account of the Vaſtneſs of the Preparations, and of the Length of the March, proceeded not with his Army directly towards *Cæſar*, but, after making only a Show of War, and a great Incurſion, returned to *Conſtantinople*. Nor did *Cæſar* ſhew greater Forwardneſs: For on Advice that the *Turks* were drawing near, he did not put himſelf on the March to meet them; but, as ſoon as he underſtood that they were retired, he had no Thoughts of proſecuting, with all his Forces, the Opportunity of recovering *Hungary* for his Brother, but, burning with a Deſire to return into *Spain*, ordered that the *Italian* Foot, with a certain Number of *Germans*, ſhould go on the Expedition to *Hungary*. But this Deſign was alſo defeated; for the *Italian* Foot, ſtirred up by ſome of their Heads, who ſaw other Generals entruſted with the Conduct of that Enterpriſe, roſe in a *Italians* mutiny, and deſert.

A. D. 1532. Mutiny, being able to alledge no Cauſe of their Tumult; and the Authority of *Cæſar* himſelf, who went in Perſon to ſpeak to them, not being ſufficient to pacify them, unanimouſly took their Way to *Italy*, marching with the utmoſt Speed for fear of being followed, and ſetting on fire many Houſes and Villages in the Rout, as if they were in an Enemy's Country, in revenge, as they ſaid, for the Ravages committed by the *Germans* in *Italy*.

Cæſar returns to Italy. CÆSAR alſo was now ſet out on his Way to *Italy*, and having marked out in what Order, and by what Stages his Court ſhould proceed with all his Train, the Cardinal *de' Medici*, incited by a juvenile Impetuoſity, not caring to be reſtrained by the Order which had been preſcribed, ſpurred on before together with *Piermaria Roſſo*, to whom the Fault of the Sedition beforementioned was principally aſcribed. *Cæſar*, provoked at this Attempt, either becauſe he laid the Blame on the Cardinal, or, as it was ſaid, was apprehenſive that the Cardinal, who was diſ-

diſcontented at the Promotion of his Couſin *Aleſſandro* to the Government of the State of *Florence*, would march after thoſe ſeditious Foot, in order to put himſelf at their Head, and lead them on ſome Enterpriſe to diſturb the Peace of *Tuſcany*, cauſed him to be arreſted on the Road, together with *Piermaria Roſſo*; but afterwards, on better Conſideration of the Importance of the Matter, he immediately ſent to have him ſet at Liberty, and made many Excuſes to him and the Pope. *Piermaria* remained a Priſoner, but not long after he was releaſed, the Injury which *Cæſar* thought he had done the Cardinal pleading powerfully with him, as it was believed, for his Deliverance. *A. D.* 1532.

Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France*.

THE Departure of the *Turk* freed *Italy* from an impending War; for the Kings of *England* and *France*, full of Hatred and Indignation againſt *Cæſar*, had an Interview between *Calais* and *Bologne*, where perſuading themſelves that the *Turk* would ſtop this Winter in *Hungary*, and by that means keep employed he Forces of *Cæſar*, they concerted that

A. D. 1532. the King of *France* ſhould attack the Dutchy of *Milan*; and intending to draw the Pope into their own Schemes by Fear and rough Means, ſince hitherto they were not able to ſucceed by any other Method, they conſulted on withdrawing their Kingdoms from his Obedience, in caſe he would not conſent to what they deſired, which was the State of *Milan* for the King of *France*, and for the King of *England* a Judgment on his Side in the Cauſe of the Divorce; and they had already appointed to ſend to him, with thoſe Commiſſions, the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Tarbes*, who were both of great Authority with the King of *France*.

But the News they received, before they parted from the Interview, of the Retreat of the *Turk*, damped theſe Projects, and alſo prevented the King of *England* from cauſing *Anne* of *Bullen* to paſs the Sea to *Calais*, in order to celebrate the Matrimony with her publicly in that Aſſembly, tho' the Cauſe was depending in the Court of *Rome*, and he had been prohibited by Apoſtolic Briefs, under

under Pain of moſt grievous Cenſures, to attemptany thing in prejudice of the firſt Matrimony. A. D. 1532. The King of *France*, however, to make a Show to the King of *England* of a Diſaffection to the *Roman* Church, tho' his Intention was to ſeek to gain Credit to his Side by gentle Means, impoſed, by his own Authority, Tenths upon the Clergy throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, and diſpatched two Cardinals to the Pope, but with Commiſſions far different from thoſe which had at firſt been deſigned.

King of *France* impoſes Tenths on his Clergy.

CÆSAR arriving in *Italy* deſired a Conference with the Pontiff, and *Bologna* was the Place again appointed between them for their Meeting, which was heartily accepted by the Pope, that he might not give Occaſion to *Cæſar*, as he was adviſed by many about him, to take a Progreſs to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and by that means tarry longer in *Italy*, which was alſo contrary to the Mind of *Cæſar*, who was deſirous to depart for *Spain*, as well for other Reaſons as principally from a Deſire of procreating Children, his

A ſecond Interview between the Pope and *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1532. his Wife remaining in that Country. Wherefore in the End of the Year they both came together in *Bologna*, where paſſed between them the ſame outward Marks of Love, and the ſame Familiarity that had been obſerved on the former Occaſion; but there was no longer that Correſpondence of Minds, which had appeared at that Time, in the Negotiations. For *Cæſar* was extremely deſirous of a Council for the Quiet and Satisfaction of *Germany*, and profeſſed himſelf very willing to diſband the Army, which was a Burthen to himſelf as well as others; but, that he might be able to do it with Security, inſiſted on renewing the laſt League made in *Bologna*, in order to comprehend all the other Potentates, and have every one aſſeſſed in the Sum he was to contribute if *Italy* ſhould be invaded by the *French*. He was deſirous alſo that *Caterina*, the Pope's Niece, ſhould be married to *Franceſco Sforza*, both to bring the Pope under a greater Neceſſity of attending to the Preſervation of that State, and to break off the Treaty of Affinity which

Cæſar's Propoſals.

which was under Negotiation with the King of *France*. A. D. 1532.

THE Pontiff was not pleaſed with any of theſe Overtures; for to enter into a Confederacy was contrary to his Deſire of keeping himſelf as much as poſſible neuter between Chriſtian Princes, being apprehenſive, among other Dangers, in particular, that the King of *France*, eſpecially being ſo earneſtly ſollicited by the King of *England*, would withdraw his Obedience from him. The Council was very diſagreeable to him for the old Reaſons; and he did not approve of the Affinity with the Duke of *Milan*, becauſe he would not contract as it were an open Enmity with the King of *France*, and becauſe he ardently deſired to join his Niece in Matrimony to the King's ſecond Son. Diſliked by the Pope.

DEBATES were held on theſe Heads, principally on that of the Confederacy, the Negotiation of which had commenced ſeveral Months before, and was managed by Commiſſioners, who, on the Part of *Cæſar*,

A. D. 1532. *Cæſar*, were *Covos*, the chief Commendatory of *Leo*, *Granvelle*, and *Prata*; for the Pope the Cardinal *de' Medici*, *Jacopo Salviati*, and *Guicciardini*. Theſe did not refuſe to make a Confederacy, for that would have been too open a Diſcovery of the Intentions of the Pontiff, and have given *Cæſar* juſt Cauſe to entertain very ſtrong Suſpicions of him; but inſiſted on uſing all Endeavours for procuring the *Venetians* to condeſcend to it, repreſenting that without their Aſſiſtance the Defence would be but weak, and that the common Cauſe would be maintained with the greateſt Reputation by keeping up the Fame of the firſt Confederacy, whereas making another, without their Concurrence, would beget every where an Opinion that there was a Diſagreement between *Cæſar* and the Pope, and the *Venetians*.

Commiſſioners for treating of a new Alliance.

The *Venetians* were therefore ſollicited to conſent to a new Confederacy for the Defence of all *Italy*, for by the firſt they were bound to no other than that of the State of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*,

Venetians ſollicited to enter into it.

Naples, and *Cæſar* was highly deſirous that they ſhould be alſo obliged to the Defence of *Genoa*, where it was apprehended that, if a War ſhould break out, the *French* would be apt to make the firſt Attack, becauſe they pretended, on account of Rights and particular Intereſts, they might lawfully do it without infringing the Treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. A. D. 1532.

The Senate refuſed their Conſent to enter into a new Confederacy, or to enlarge the Obligations of the preſent, to the great Indignation of *Cæſar*, tho' they declared that they would inviolably obſerve this Alliance. *Cæſar* however inſiſted the more earneſtly with the Pope, refuting the Reaſons which were alledged on his Part to the contrary, ſo that he entered into a Debate on the Articles of the Confederacy, and all the Potentates of *Italy* were invited to ſend Ambaſſadors to aſſiſt at the Negotiation, and ſollicited to enter into the Confederacy, by contributing their Quota, in caſe of a War, according to their reſpective Forces and Abilities. Senate refuſes.

None

A. D. 1532. None of the Powers made any Difficulty of complying, only every one endeavoured to lighten what was demanded of him for Contribution. *Alfonſo da Eſte* alone declared that he could not enter into a League for defending the States of others, if he were not firſt ſecured of his own; for with what Conſiſtency could he keep himſelf on his Guard againſt the Pontiff, and enter into a League with him? And how was it poſſible for him to contribute with his Money to the Defence of *Milan* and *Genoa*, if he was neceſſitated to be at continual Expences for maintaining Garriſons in *Modena* and *Reggio*, and alſo for the Security of *Ferrara*?

Duke of *Ferrara*

This Demand occaſioned a new Negotiation for an Agreement between *Alfonſo* and the Pope, who being very averſe to it, and yet unwilling to ſhew himſelf thus openly inexorable to the Inſtances of *Cæſar*, propoſed inexplicable Conditions, declaring that if he muſt be obliged to leave *Modena* and *Reggio* to *Alfonſo*, ſince otherwiſe there could be no Agreement, it was his Will he ſhould acknowledge that

thst he held them as Fiefs of the Apoſtolic See. This being impracticable, ſo as to be valid in Law, without the Conſent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, plunged *Cæſar* in a Difficulty which had no Iſſue. Wherefore he was content to intreat the Pontiff to enter into an Obligation not to attack the State poſſeſſed by *Alfonſo*, at leaſt during the League. At length, after many Diſputes, the Pontiff conſented to ſecure it for eighteen Months, and ſo at laſt followed the Concluſion of the League, which was ſtipulated on the Feſtival of St. *Matthias*, a Day ſo fortunate to *Cæſar*. *A. D.* 1532. League concluded.

THE Confederacy contained an Obligation of *Cæſar*, of the King of the *Romans*, and of all the other *Italian* Potentates, except the *Venetians*, to the Defence of *Italy*, the *Florentines* however not being named in it, but in the manner in which they had been named in the League of *Coignac*, that it might not give occaſion to a Diſturbance of their Commerce in the Kingdom of *France*. It expreſſed the Number of Troops that every one Articles.

A. D. 1532. one of the confederated Princes was to furniſh, with the Quotas they were to contribute every Month, *Cæſar* being rated at 30,000 Ducats, the Pontiff, who was appointed to pay for himſelf and the *Florentines* at 20,000, the Duke of *Milan* at 10,000, the Duke of *Ferrara* 12000, the *Genoeſe* 6000, the *Seneſe* 2000, and the *Luccheſe* 1000. And that proper Proviſion might be made againſt any ſudden Attack, till ſuch time as a Defence might be made by means of the ſeveral Contributions, there was to be depoſited at preſent a Sum of Money nearly equal to the Contributions, which was not to be expended until Preparations were manifeſtly in readineſs for invading *Italy*. A ſmall annual Contribution was alſo appointed for maintaining the Generals who remained in *Italy*, and to pay certain Penſions to the *Swiſs*, that they might have no Cauſe to furniſh the King of *France* with Foot. And *Antonio da Leva* was, by common Conſent, declared Captain General of the whole League, with Orders to reſide in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

As

A. D. 1532.

As to the Council, nothing was concluded to the Satisfaction of *Cæſar*, who inſiſted that the Pope ſhould give immediate Intimation of it; but he refuſed, alledging that in the preſent evil Diſpoſition of Minds, it was to be feared, a Council would be rejected by the Kings of *France* and *England*. And if it ſhould be held without them, there could be nothing effected towards a Union or Reformation of the Church, but it was very much to be apprehended that it would give Occaſion to a Schiſm; he was content however to ſend Nuncios to all the Princes, to incite them to ſo holy a Work. *Cæſar* then replying What if theſe Princes ſhould diſſent without juſt Cauſe, and deſiring that in ſuch a Caſe the Pontiff ſhould promiſe him to intimate it, he could by no means diſpoſe him to it; ſo that the Nuncios were deputed and ſent, but with ſmall Hopes of bringing the Point to a Concluſion.

Pope refuſes to intimate a General Council.

But *Cæſar* remained alſo no leſs diſſatisfied with the Treaty of Affinity; for

A. D. 1532. the two Cardinals deputed from the King of *France* being arrived at *Bologna*, and a Negotiation again ſet on foot of an Affinity with the ſecond Son of that King, the Pontiff replied to that of the Duke of *Milan* propoſed by *Cæſar*, that ſince the King had long before made an Overture to him and *Cæſar* of the Matrimony of his Son, and that he had hearkned to the Propoſal with *Cæſar*'s Conſent, who at that Time ſhewed himſelf not at all uneaſy about it, he thought it too great an Injury to the King of *France* if, while the Treaty was depending, he ſhould marry his Niece to one who was the King's Enemy: That he believed this Negotiation to be artfully ſet on foot by the King, with a Deſign to amuſe him, and not with an Intention to conclude any thing, there being ſo great a Diſparity of Rank and Condition; but that, if the Treaty was not firſt wholly broken off, he would not offer ſo great an Affront to the King. And *Cæſar*, not being able to perſuade himſelf that the King of *France* would chuſe ſo unequal a Match for one of his Sons, adviſed

Affair of Marriage of *Caterina de' Medici.*

viſed the Pope, in order to be convinced of the King's Diſſimulation, to inſiſt with the two Cardinals on their procuring a Commiſſion enabling them to make the Contract. This they ſhewed themſelves very ready to do, and in a very few Days had one tranſmitted to them, drawn in a very ample Form and Manner. A. D. 1532.

HENCE not only all Hopes of Affinity with *Franceſco Sforza* were excluded, but alſo the Treaty with the King of *France* was puſhed on with more Vigour; beſides the Pope and the King of *France* had long before debated and agreed on an Interview at *Nizza*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſeated on the River *Varo*, which ſeparates *Italy* and *Provence*. Interview concerted between the Pope and King of *France*.

THESE Things gave no little Anxiety to *Cæſar*, who not only apprehended that a cloſe Alliance would be made between the Pope and the King of *France* to his Prejudice, knowing how the King's Mind was diſpoſed towards him, and doubting that the Pontiff ſtill reſerved in Pope why ſuſpected by *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1532. Secret the Memory of his Impriſonment, of the Sackage of *Rome*, and of the Revolution of the State of *Florence*, but was alſo moved with Indignation at the Thoughts that the Honour which he imagined the Pope had done him by coming to a perſonal Conference with him at *Bologna*, would be diminiſhed, nay annihilated, if he ſhould go by Sea to meet the King of *France* as far as *Nizza*. And he did not diſſemble his Diſpleaſure, nor the Cauſes, but in vain: For the Pope had fixed in his Mind ſo ardent a Deſire of this Affinity, that he was more influenced by Ambition, and the Thirſt of Glory in that, being of a Family of little more than private Rank, he had obtained for his natural Nephew a natural Daughter of ſo potent an Emperor, and now ſhould obtain for his legitimate Niece a legitimate Son of the King of *France*, than by the Repreſentations which were made to him by many Hands that by this Affinity he would give ſome Colour of Right, tho' not true yet apparent, to the King of *France*, to form Pretenſions for his Son and Daughter in Law on the

Ambitious.

State

State of *Florence*. To theſe Cauſes of *Cæſar*'s Diſſatisfaction were added, by a kind of Accumulation, that when he requeſted the Pope to create three Cardinals, whom he had propoſed, he only obtained that Dignity, and not without Difficulty, for the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, the Pontiff excuſing himſelf from the Oppoſition of the College of Cardinals. Nor was *Cæſar* mitigated by the Pope's ready Concurrence with a ſecret Confederacy, in which he promiſed to proceed judicially to Cenſure, and to all rightful Meaſures againſt the King of *England* and *Anne Bullen*; they obliged themſelves to make no new Confederacy or Agreement with any Princes without mutual Conſent. *A. D.* 1532.

Secretly confederates with *Cæſar*.

CÆSAR then ſet out from *Bologna* the Day after the Confederacy had been ſtipulated, being well aſſured in himſelf that the Affinity and the Interview with the King of *France* would go forwards, and doubtful alſo of a cloſer Union, and embarking at *Genoa* paſſed into *Spain*, with a pretty firm Reſolution, as it was ſaid,

Cæſar departs for *Spain*.

A. D. 1532. that if the Affinity ſhould be contracted with the King, that of his Daughter with *Aleſſandro de' Medici* ſhould not take Place.

THE Pope a few Days after ſet out for *Rome*, accompanied by the two *French* Cardinals, who were not in the leaſt diſturbed at the new Confederacy; for the Pontiff, who was excellent at Diſſimulation and Negotiations, when he was not over-ridden by Fear, had pretended to them that the Concluſion of the League had procured the diſbanding of the *Spaniſh* Army, which did a greater Service to the King of *France* than contracting the Confederacy did him a Prejudice, eſpecially ſince between the Obligations and Obſervance and Execution might poſſibly ariſe many Difficulties, and divers Impediments.

Pope excuſes his Confederacy.

THE Negotiations then begun between the Pontiff and the King of *France* were continued; and the King, to do himſelf Honour, and, more out of Ambition than for any other Reaſon, deſirous of the Pope's

Pope's coming to *Nizza*, promiſed, in order to draw him thither, not to ſollicit him about a Confederacy, nor ſeek to draw him into a War, or cauſe him to deviate from the Paths of Juſtice in the Cauſe of the King of *England*, nor requeſt of him a new Creation of Cardinals. He was alſo not a little ſtimulated to this Step by the King of *England*, who, having privately got his Miſtreſs with Child, had, in order to conceal the Reproach before it was publiſhed, ſolemnly contracted Matrimony with her, and having not long after had a Daughter by her, had, in prejudice of the Daughter by the firſt Wife, declared her Princeſs of the Kingdom of *England*; a Title given to thoſe who are next in Succeſſion to the Crown. *A. D.* 1532.

Henry VIII. marries and has a Daughter by *Anne Bullen*.

WHEREFORE the Pope, not being able to diſſemble ſo great a Contempt of the Apoſtolic See, nor deny Juſtice to *Cæſar*, had, with the Votes of the Conſiſtory, declared that King fallen under the Penalties of Preſumption. Hence the King was deſirous of the Affinity and

A. D. 1532. Interview of the Pope with the King of *France*, in hopes that the King would be a Means to colour over his Cauſe, and that the Pontiff, induced, as he expected, to treat of Innovations againſt *Cæſar*, would be deſirous to reconcile him, and take him into Conjunction with them, and ſo conſtitute between them a kind of Triumvirate, which ſhould give Laws to the Affairs of *Italy*.

Deſirous of Reconciliation with the Pope.

The Pope's Voyage was at laſt concluded, tho' not to *Nizza*, becauſe the Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not diſpleaſe *Cæſar*, made a Difficulty of accommodating him with the Caſtle, but to *Marſeilles*; a Circumſtance greatly deſired by the King, becauſe it was much more for his Honour to draw him to an Interview with him in his own Kingdom, and not ungrateful to the Pontiff, who was willing to ſatisfy the King rather with Shows, and by pleaſing his Ambition, than by real Effects. The Pontiff laboured to perſuade every one that he went to this Interview principally to eſtabliſh the Peace, to treat of an Expedition againſt

againſt the Infidels, to reduce the King of *England* to the right Way, and in ſhort purely for the common Intereſts. But unable to diſſemble the true Motive, he ſent to *Nizza*, before he took his Paſſage, his Niece on board the Gallies which the King of *France* had diſpatched with the Duke of *Albany*, Uncle to the young Maiden, to fetch her off. This Fleet, after leaving the Girl at *Nizza*, returned to the Port of *Piſa*, and on the fourth of *October* took on board the Pontiff, with a good Number of Cardinals, and after a pretty proſperous Voyage landed him in a few Days at *Marſeilles*, where, after he had made his ſolemn Entry, the King of *France* alſo publicly entered, having before paid him a Viſit by Night.

A. D. 1532.

Interview of the Pope and King of *France* at *Marſeilles*

THEY were lodged in the ſame Palace, and made extraordinary Shows of mutual Love and Affection; and the King, being wholly intent on gaining hss Heart, requeſted him to cauſe his Niece to come to *Marſeilles*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Pontiff, who did not ſollicit it himſelf, becauſe he would ſhew himſelf

A. D. 1532. himſelf willing to treat firſt about common Affairs. As ſoon as the Maiden arrived the Wedding was celebrated, and the Matrimony almoſt immediately conſummated, with incredible Gladneſs of the Pontiff, who negotiating his own Affairs with the King himſelf, and with conſummate Art, entirely gained his Confidence and Affection, tho', contrary to what many believed, and what *Cæſar* imagined, no Convention was ſettled between them.

Caterina de' Mtdici married to the ſecond Son of *France.*

TRUE it is that the Pope always ſhewed a Propenſeneſs to wiſh that the State of *Milan* might be acquired for the Duke of *Orleans*, the Huſband of his Niece, which would be highly acceptable to the King on account of his Hatred and Indignation againſt *Cæſar*, but much more becauſe, by putting *Orleans* in Poſſeſſion of that State, he imagined that he ſhould extinguiſh the Cauſes of Contention between his Sons after his Death, which otherwiſe, it was to be feared, would ariſe on account of the Dutchy of *Bretany*, which the King had the Year before annexed to the

the Crown of *France*, contrary to the Convention made by King *Lewis* with thoſe People, who were induced to conſent rather by the Royal Authority than by ſpontaneous Will. A. D. 1532. *Bretany annexed to France.*

THE King alſo did not only obtain nothing of the Pope in favour of the Cauſe of the King of *England*, but, on account of the uncivil Behaviour of the Agents of that King, and becauſe he found them in the Pope's Chamber proteſting to him, and appealing from him to a Council, ſhewing his Indignation, he ſaid to the Pope that he ſhould not be offended if he proceeded according to Juſtice againſt that Prince. Incivility of the *Engliſh* Agents to the Pope.

NOTHING gave the Pope any Diſtaſte except that the King, more for the Satisfaction of thoſe abont him than of himſelf, requeſted him to create three Cardinals; a thing very diſagreeable to the Pontiff, not only on account of the Oppoſition and Complaint of the *Cæſarean* Ambaſſador, but becauſe it appeared a Matter of great Moment, both with reſpect

A. D. 1532. ſpect to the Election of future Pontiffs, and to the Diſobediences that might poſſibly ariſe in his Lifetime and afterwards by adding ſo many Cardinals to the *French* Nation, which had already ſix. However, as the leſſer Evil, he conſented to this Demand, and beſides theſe three he created alſo a Brother of the Duke of *Albany*, to whom he had before promiſed that Dignity.

In all other Matters there reigned bebetween them the greateſt Confidence and Satisfaction, and the King of *France* having communicated to the Pontiff many of his Counſels, and particularly the Deſign which he had formed to excite againſt *Cæſar* ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, eſpecially the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who roſe in Arms the Summer following, after they had tarried at *Marſeilles* about a Month, the Pontiff departed on board the ſame Gallies, with which, after a great Fatigue at Sea, he arrived at *Savona*, from whence, putting no Truſt in the Proviſion of the Ships, nor in the Skill

Pope departs from *Marſeilles*

of

of thoſe who ſteered them, he ſent them back, and was conveyed on board the Gallies of *Andrea Doria* to *Civita Vecchia*. A. D. 1532.

FROM hence he returned to *Rome* with the greateſt Reputation, and with wonderful Felicity, eſpecially in the Eſteem of thoſe who had ſeen him a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*. But he enjoyed the Favour of Fortune but a very few Months, having already preſaged in his Mind what would be the future Event; for we are aſſured that almoſt as ſoon as he returned from *Marſeilles*, like one certain of imminent Death, he cauſed the Ring, and all the Things uſual to Sovereign Pontiffs at their Funerals, to be made, and declared to his Acquaintance, with a very ſedate Mind, that his Death muſt needs happen in a ſhort Space of Time. Pope preſages his Death.

THIS Apprehenſion however not making him lay aſide his Projects and Studies, he preſſed forward the building of a very ſtrong Citadel in *Florence*, for the greater Security,

A. D. 1532. Security, as he imagined, of his Family; uncertain how quick a Period awaited the Felicity of his Nephews, who were very great Enemies to each other, and of whom *Ippolito* the Cardinal died, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, within a Year after the Pope's Death, and *Alexander*, the other Nephew, who ruled in *Florence*, was, with very great Blame for his Imprudence, ſecrely murdered by Night in *Florence* by *Lorenzo* of the ſame Family of the *Medici*.

Unfortunate End of the Pope's Nephews.

THE Pope in the Beginning of Summer was affected with Pains of the Stomach, to which a Fever ſupervening, he laboured a long Time under that and other Symptoms, ſometimes ſeeming reduced to the Point of Death, and ſometimes cheered up and revived ſo as to give Hopes to others, but not to himſelf, of his Recovery. During his Sickneſs the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Landgrave of *Heſſe* and other Princes, and ſupplied with Money by the King of *France*, recovered the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* which was in Poſſeſſion of the

Duke of *Wirtemberg* recovers his Dutchy.

the King of the *Romans*, with whom, A D. 1531. out of Fear of greater Combuſtions, the Princes came to a Compoſition, contrary to the Will of the King of *France*, who expected that *Cæſar*, by this Movement, would be involved in a long and difficult War, or, perhaps, that the victorious Arms of the Confederates would make a Deſcent and Invaſion into the Dutchy of *Milan*.

At this Juncture alſo *Barbaroſſa*, become a Baſſa, and Captain General of *Solyman*'s Fleet, took his Courſe to the Kingdom of *Tunis*; but in his Voyage he ſcoured the Seacoaſts of *Calabria*, and paſſed off *Gaeta*, where ſome of his Troops landed, and plundered *Fondi*, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Pope's Court and the *Romans*, that if the *Turks* had marched forwards, they would, it is believed, have abandoned the City. *Barbaroſſa* ſacks *Fondi*.

This Diſaſter was unknown to the Pontiff, who at laſt, no longer able to ſtruggle with his Diſtemper, on the 25th of *September* departed this preſent Life, leaving Death of Pope *Clement* VII.

A. D. 1532. leaving in the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo* abundance of Jewels, and in the Apoſtolical Chamber a Multiplicity of Offices, but, contrary to the univerſal Opinion, a very ſmall Quantity of Money.

His Fortune and Character.

THIS Pope was exalted from a low Degree with wonderful Felicity to the Pontificate, but in it he experienced a great Variety of Fortune, tho', upon the Balance, his bad Fortune greatly outweighed the good. For what Felicity can compare with the Infelicity of his Impriſonment, his having ſeen the Saekage of *Rome* with ſuch horrible Ravages, and his being the Cauſe of ſo great a Ruin to his own Country? He died hated by the Court, ſuſpected by the Princes, and with the Character of being rather of a moroſe and diſagreeable than of a pleaſant and affable Temper, being reputed avaricious, hardly to be truſted, and naturally averſe from doing a Kindneſs. Wherefore, tho' in his Pontificate he created one and thirty Cardinals, he created not one for his own Satisfaction, but, on the contrary, was always in a manner neceſſitated

neceſſitated to it, except the Cardinal *de' Medici*, whom he created rather at the Sollicitations of others, than of his own ſpontaneous Choice, at a Time when he laboured under a dangerous Diſorder, and if he had died would have left thoſe who belonged to him Beggars, and deſtitute of all Relief. He was however very grave and circumſpect in his Actions, much Maſter of himſelf, and of a very great Capacity, if Timidity had not frequently corrupted his Judgment. A. D. 1532.

As ſoon as he was dead the Cardinals, ſhutting themſelves up the ſame Night in the Conclave, unanimouſly choſe for Sovereign Pontiff *Aleſſandro* of the Family of *Farneſe*, a *Roman* by Birth, and the oldeſt Cardinal of the Court, conforming their Votes to the Judgment and almoſt Inſtances which *Clement* had made in his Behalf, as a Perſon worthy to be promoted to ſo great a Dignity before all others, a Man adorned with Learning, and of an unſpotted Character. And the Cardinals concurred the more willingly in electing him, becauſe he was now in the Creation of *Paul* III.

A. D. 1532. ſixty ſeventh Year of his Age, and being reputed of a bad Conſtitution, and not very ſtrong, which Opinion was promoted by himſelf with ſome Art, they were in Hopes that his Pontificate would be but ſhort. But whether or no the Works and Actions of this Pope will be worthy of the Expectation conceived of him, and of the immenſe Joy it gave the *Roman* People to find themſelves after a Courſe of 103 Years, and a Succeſſion of 13 Popes, once more felicitated with a Pontiff of the *Roman* Blood, thoſe will give the beſt Evidence who ſhall record the Courſe of Affairs in *Italy* ſince his Aſſumption; it being a very true and highly laudable Saying, that the Office diſplays the Merit of the Perſon who exerciſes it.

End of the Twentieth and laſt Book.

TO THE READER.

IT may ſeem neceſſary for the Tranſlator to inform the Readers of his Motives for poſtponing the following Paſſages to the End of this Work, which he has done from a juſt Suſpicion of their Interpolation, ſince they are only to be met with in ſome *French* Editions, and Tranſlations from them; all Poſterior to the firſt Copies publiſhed in *Italy*, I have therefore followed the Example of the laſt *Venetian* Editor, who more judiciouſly placed them at the End, with References to the Places from whence they were ſuppoſed to have been expunged. The Publiſher of *Thuanus Reſtitutus*, printed in *Amſterdam*, 1663, pretends, indeed, to have procured theſe Paſſages from a Printer at *Florence*, probably in order to obtain a good Vent for his Book; it being more likely he copied them from ſome ſcarce Edition printed long before his pretended Diſcovery; for that of *Baſil* was publiſhed in 1569, and that of *Geneva*, with *De la Noue*'s Remarks, in 1593. I am yet more fully convinced, that they are ſpurious, from a careful and diligent Search in *Florence*, and

ſonal Application to the Family of our Author, ſtill ſubſiſting there, which afforded not the leaſt Mark or Hint from which I could ſo much as ſuſpect they were genuine, but quite the contrary. "For, (ſays my Correſpondent, among many other Reaſons too tedious to mention) how can it be imagined, that we would ſuppreſs the Rumour of *Madonna Lucretia*, and at the ſame time acquaint the Public with a more ſcandalous Hearſay concerning *Aſtorre*." It is not pretended by this to vindicate *Alexander* VI. whom *Guicciardini* affirms capable of any Enormity; but to do juſtice to Truth, and to our worthy Author, who can admit of no Addition or Diminution, even the leaſt conſiderable, but to his Diſadvantage, and to the Injury of his Property, as well as of the Public.

"THE long Detail relating to the Pope's Temporalities, adds my Correſpondent, if wrote by *Guicciardini*, might have been prudently omitted, as there was a ſtrong political Connection between the Courts of *Rome* and *Florence* in 1561, when the firſt Edition of his Hiſtory was publiſhed; but as we have no ſuch Document, we cannot admit it as genuine."

Vol. II. *Firſt* Edition, *Page* 167. *Second* Edition. *Page* 177, *after* Tiber, *read* A. D. 1532.

IT was alſo reported, if we ought to believe ſo great an Enormity, that not only the two Brothers but the Father himſelf was concerned in the Love of Lady *Lucretia*; and that, having taken her away, as ſoon as he was made Pontif, from her firſt Huſband, as become inferior to her Degree, and married her to *Giovanni Sforza*, Lord of *Peſaro*, not enduring to have a Rival even in a Huſband, he diſſolved the Matrimony, already conſummated, having, before Judges delegated by himſelf, proved by falſe Witneſſes, and afterwards got it confirmed by Sentence, that *Giovanni* was of a cold Complexion, and impotent. His Death, *&c.*

Vol. II. *Firſt* Edition, *Page* 353. *Second* Edition, *Page* 367, *after* Father, *read*

TO give a clear Notion of this Affair, and of many others, that were conſequent upon it, the Subject requires to offer ſome Account of the Claims which the Church hath on the Towns of *Romagna*, and on many others, of which ſhe had been at

A. D. 1532. ſundry Times, or is now in actual Poſſeſſion, and in what Manner an Adminiſtration, which at its firſt Inſtitution was merely Spiritual, came to be concerned about worldly States and Empires; and alſo, as an Affair connected with the former, of the Contentions which, for theſe and other Reaſons, have at divers Times happened between the Popes and Emperors.

Primitive State of the *Roman* Pontiffs.

THE *Roman* Pontiffs, the firſt of whom was the Apoſtle *Peter*, their Authority being founded by Jeſus Chriſt in ſpiritual Affairs, abounding in Charity, Humility, Patience in the Spirit, and in Miracles, were, in their Beginning, not only deſtitute of temporal Power, but, being perſecuted by it, remained for many Years in a State of Obſcurity, and were in a manner unknown, nothing more contributing to make their Names known than the Puniſhments which they, together with their Followers, equally ſuſtained. Wherefore, tho', on account of the innumerable, Multitude, and of the different Nations and Profeſſions that were in *Rome*, their Progreſs

Progreſs ſometimes met with little Attention, and ſome of the Emperors did not perſecute them unleſs ſo far as it appeared that their public Actions could not be paſſed over in Silence, yet ſome others, either out of Cruelty, or Devotion to their own Gods, perſecuted them in an atrocious Manner, as Inducers of new Superſtitions, and Deſtroyers of the true Religion. A. D. 1532.

In this State they continued, being very famous for voluntary Poverty, for Sanctity of Life, and for Martyrdom, till Pope *Sylveſter*, in whoſe Time *Conſtantine* the Emperor having received the Chriſtian Faith, induced by the extraordinary Holineſs of Manners, and by the Miracles which were continually obſerved of thoſe who profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, the Pontiffs lived ſecure from the Dangers to which they had been expoſed for about 300 Years, and were allowed the public Exerciſe of divine Worſhip after the Chriſtian Rites. Hence, out of Reverence to their Manners, and from the holy Precepts containing in themſelves our Religion, and from the ready Diſpoſition of Clergy how enriched.

A. D. 1532. Men, either out of Ambition for the moſt part, or out of Fear, to follow the Example of their Prince, the Chriſtian Name began to ſpread itſelf wonderfully every where, and together with it the Poverty of the Clergy to diminiſh. For *Conſtantine* having built in *Rome* the Churches of *St. John Lateran*, *St. Peter in the Vatican*, *St. Paul's*, and many others in different Places, not only endowed them with rich Veſſels and Ornaments, but alſo with Poſſeſſions and other Revenues to preſerve and reſtore them, and for the Buildings, and for the Support of thoſe who performed divine Service in them. And many afterwards ſucceſſively in future Times, perſuading themſelves that by Alms and Legacies to the Churches they ſhould facilitate to themſelves the Acquiſition of the Kingdom of Heaven, either built or endowed other Churches, or diſpenſed Part of their Riches to thoſe already built; and moreover, either by Law, or from antient Cuſtom, following the Example of the Old Teſtament, every one paid the tenth Part of the Fruits of his own Eſtate to the Churches, the People putting

putting themſelves forward on thoſe Works with great Ardor, becauſe at the Beginning the Clergy, except what was neceſſary for their own very moderate Suſtenance, beſtowed all the reſt, partly in the Buildings and Ornaments of the Churches, and partly in Works of Mercy and Charity. And Pride and Ambition not having as yet found an Entrance into their Breaſt, the Biſhop of *Rome* was univerſally acknowledged by Chriſtians as Head of all the Churches, and of the whole ſpiritual Adminiſtration, as Succeſſor of the Apoſtle *Peter*, and becauſe that City, on account of its antient Dignity and Greatneſs, retained, as Head of the others, the Name and Majeſty of the Empire, becauſe alſo from it was diffuſed the Chriſtian Faith into the greateſt Part of *Europe*, and *Conſtantine*, being baptized by *Sylveſter*, had voluntarily acknowledged ſuch an Authority in him and his Succeſſors.

A. D. 1532.

Biſhop of *Rome* Head of the Church.

It is reported that, beſides all this, *Conſtantine*, conſtrained by the Circumſtances of the Weſtern Provinces to tranſlate

A. D. 1534. ſtate the Seat of the Empire to the City of *Byzantium*, called after his Name *Conſtantinople*, beſtowed on the Pontiffs the Dominion of *Rome*, and of many other Cities and Countries of *Italy*. This Report, tho' diligently promoted by the ſucceeding Pontiffs, and by many believed on their Authority, is yet rejected by the moſt approved Authors, and much more from the Evidence of the Thing itſelf; ſince it is very manifeſt that at that Time, and long afterwards, *Rome* and all *Italy* was ſubject to the Empire, and governed by Magiſtrates deputed by the Emperors. And there are not wanting ſome, ſuch is frequently the Obſcurity in Matters of ſo great Antiquity, who explode all that is ſaid about *Conſtantine* and *Sylveſter*, affirming that they lived in different Times; but not one denies that the Tranſlation of the Seat of the Empire to *Conſtantinople* was the firſt Origin of the Power of the Pontiffs, the Authority of the Emperors in *Italy* being weakened in Proceſs of Time by their continual Abſence, and by the Difficulties they met with in the Eaſt, the *Roman* People eſtranging themſelves

Donation of *Conſtantine* exploded.

ſelves from the Emperors, and therefore paying ſo much the more Deference to the Popes, began to yield them, not Subjection, but a kind of ſpontaneous Obedience. A. D. 1532.

AFFAIRS however took ſuch a Turn but ſlowly, on account of the Inundations of *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations that over-ran *Italy*; by theſe *Rome* being ſeveral times taken and ſacked, the Name of the Pontiffs as to temporal Matters was obſcure and low, and the Emperors had but very little Authority in *Italy*, after they had in ſo ſhameful a manner left her a Prey to Barbarians. Among theſe Nations the *Goths*, a People profeſſing the Chriſtian Name, and deriving their firſt Original from the Parts of *Dacia* and *Tartary*, continued in Power ſeventy Years, the Fury of the others having ſpent itſelf like a Torrent. The *Goths* were at laſt driven out of *Italy* by the Arms of the Emperors, and *Italy* began once more to be governed by *Greek* Magiſtrates, the Chief of whom was called by a *Greek* Name, *Exarch*, and reſided at *Ravenna*, a

Origin of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*.

A. D. 1532. very antient City, and at that Time very rich, and very populous, on account of the Fertility of the Country, and becauſe, ſince the great Increaſe it received from the powerful Fleet continually ſtationed by *Cæſar Auguſtus*, and other Emperors, in the Port, which was almoſt contiguous to it, and now has no Appearance, it had been the Habitation of many Generals, and afterwards for a long time of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths* and his Succeſſors, who, taking Umbrage at the Power of the Emperors, had choſen it rather than *Rome* for the Commodiouſneſs of its Sea, which is nearer to *Conſtantinople*. This Conveniency, tho', for a contrary Reaſon, the Exarchs affecting made it their Reſidence, putting in the Government of *Rome* and of other Cities of *Italy* particular Magiſtrates under the Title of *Dukes*. Hence the Name of the *Exarchate of Ravenna* had its Original, under which Name is comprehended all the Country which having no particular Dukes paid Obedience immediately to the Exarch.

At this Juncture the *Roman* Pontiffs, wholly

wholly diveſted of temporal Power, and the Reverence paid them in Spirituals much cooled by the Inſincerity of their Manners, which now began to deviate from their native Simplicity, ſtood under a kind of Subjection to the Emperors, without whoſe Confirmation, or that of their Exarchs, tho' elected by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, they durſt not exerciſe or accept the Pontificate; nay the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna*, as the Seat of Religion commonly follows the Power of Empire and Arms, oftentimes diſputed the Superiority with the *Roman* Biſhop. A. D. 1532. State of *Roman* Pontiffs under Exarchs.

BUT not long after the State of Affairs was altered; for the *Lombards*, a very fierce Nation, invading *Italy*, ſeized on *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which from being brought under their Empire took the Name of *Lombardy*, *Ravenna*, and the Exarchate, with many other Parts of *Italy*, and carried their Arms as far as the *Marca Anconitana*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, in which two Places they created particular Dukes, the Emperors making no Proviſions Invaſion of the *Lombards*.

A. D. 1532. viſions againſt their Progreſs, partly through Indolence, and partly on account of the Difficulties they laboured under in *Aſia*.

Rome, abandoned of their Aſſiſtance, and the Magiſtracy of the Exarchs no longer exiſting, began to be divided by the Counſels and Authority of the Pontiffs, who, after they had ſuffered together with the *Romans* a long Oppreſſion under the *Lombards*, had recourſe at laſt to the Aſſiſtance of *Pepin*, King of *France*. *Pepin* poſted with a powerful Army into *Italy*, where the *Lombards* had now domineered above 200 Years, and having driven them out of one Part of their Empire, beſtowed, as become his own by Right of War, on the Pontiff and the *Roman* Church, not only *Urbino*, *Fano*, *Agobbio*, and many other Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, but alſo *Ravenna*, with its Exarchate, under which is ſaid to be comprehended all that Space of Land which reaches from the Confines of the *Piacentine* contiguous to the Territory of *Pavia*, as far as *Rimini*, and is bounded by the River

Pepin's Donation.

River *Po*, the *Appennine* Mountains, the Pools or Marſhes of the *Venetians*, and the *Adriatic* Sea; and alſo the Country from beyond *Rimini*, as far as the River *Toglia*, at that time called *Iſauro*. A. D. 1532.

BUT after the Death of *Pepin*, the *Lombards* again moleſting the Pontiffs, and the Territories which had been beſtowed upon them, *Charles*, his Son, who afterwards for his ſignal Victories was deſervedly ſirnamed *the Great*, having totally deſtroyed the Empire of the *Lombards*, confirmed the Donation made to the *Roman* Church by his Father, and gave his Approbation, while he was at War with the *Lombards*, to a further Endowment of the Church with the Marca of *Ancona*, and the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, which then comprehended the City of *Aquila*, and Part of the *Abruzzi*. Thus much is affirmed for certain, and ſome Eccleſiaſtic Writers add that *Charles* made a Donation to the Church of *Liguria*, as far as the River *Varo*, the utmoſt Border of *Italy*, *Mantoua*, and of all that the *Lombards* poſſeſſed in *Friuli* and

Confirmed by *Charlemagne*, with Additions.

A. D. 1532. and *Iſtria*; and ſome others write the ſame of the Iſland of *Corſica*, and of all the Territory between the Cities of *Luni* and *Parma*.

Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*.

For ſuch meritorious Benefits the Kings of *France* were celebrated and exalted by the Pontiffs, and obtained the Title of *moſt Chriſtian Kings*; and afterwards, in the Year 800 of our Redemption, the Pontiff *Leo*, together with the *Roman* People, by no other Authority than that of the Pontiff, as Head of that People, elected the ſame *Charles Roman* Emperor, ſeparating alſo in Name this Part of the Empire from the Emperors who reſided at *Conſtantinople*, as if *Rome* and the Weſtern Provinces, having no Defence from them, had need to be defended by a Prince of their own.

Charlemagne elected Emperor.

By this Diviſion the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors were not deprived of the Iſland of *Sicily*, nor of that Part of *Italy* which extends from *Naples* to *Manfredonia*, and is bounded by the Sea, becauſe they had been continually under thoſe Emperors.

Nor

Nor did this Tranſaction occaſion any Derogation from the Cuſtom of confirming the Election of the Pontiffs by the *Roman* Emperors, by whoſe Authority the City of *Rome* was governed; on the contrary, the Pontiffs in their Bulls, Privileges, and Grants, expreſſed the Date of the Writing in this Form of Words, *in the Reign of ſuch an Emperor, our Lord.* *A. D.* 1532. Election of Popes confirmed by the Emperors.

In this moderate either Subjection or Dependence they continued as long as the Courſe of Events gave them no Spirit or Opportunity to take upon them to be their own Maſters: But the Power of the Emperors being on the Decline, firſt by the Contentions which aroſe between the Deſcendents themſelves of *Charles the Great*, while the Imperial Dignity reſided among them, and afterwards by its Tranſlation to the *German* Princes, who were not ſo powerful as the Succeſſors of *Charles* had been through the Greatneſs of the Kingdom of *France*, the Pontiffs, and the *Roman* People, by whoſe Magiſtrates *Rome* began, tho' in a tumultuous Manner, to be governed,

A. D. 1532. derogating in all things, as much as they could, from the Juriſdiction of the Emperors, enacted a Law that the Election of Pontiffs ſhould no longer be neceſſary to be confirmed by them.

Law againſt ſuch Confimation.

THIS Ordinance was differently obſerved, according to the Variations in the Courſe of Affairs, by which the Imperial Power has been more or leſs exalted or depreſſed. This Power being augmented after the Empire came into the Hands of the *Othos* of *Saxony*, *Gregory* V. a *German* by Nation, choſen Pontiff by Favour of *Otho* III. who was preſent, being induced by the Love of his Countrymen, and provoked by the Perſecutions he had received from the *Romans*, transferred by his Decree the Power of electing *Roman* Emperors to the *German* Nation in that Form which is obſerved down to our Times, forbidding the Elect (in order to reſerve to the Pontiffs ſome Preeminence) to aſſume the Title of *Emperor*, or *Auguſtus*, before they received the Crown of the Empire (whence was introduced the Coming to *Rome* to be crowned) and to

Gregory Vth's Decree in favour of *Germany*.

uſe

uſe no other Title than that of *King of the Romans*, or *Cæſar*. A. D. 1532.

But the *Othos* afterwards failing, and the Power of the Emperors being diminiſhed, becauſe the Empire did not continue hereditary in great Kings, *Rome* openly withdrew itſelf from their Obedience, and many Cities, during the Empire of *Conrade* the *Suabian*, rebelled, and the Pontiffs, attentive to enlarge their own Authority, ruled in a manner at *Rome*, tho' frequently by the Inſolence and Diſcords of the People they met with many Difficulties. To repreſs their Unrulineſs they had lately, by Favour of the Emperor *Henry* II. who was at *Rome*, transferred by Law the Authority of creating a Pontiff to the Cardinals alone. Creation of Popes veſted in Cardinals.

To the Greatneſs of the Pontiffs ſucceeded a new Augmentation; for the *Normans*, the Firſt of whom was *William* ſirnamed *Iron-Arm*, having uſurped *Puglia* and *Calabria* from the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, *Robert Guiſcard*, one of thoſe Uſurpers, either to furniſh himſelf with

A. D 1532. ſome Colour of Right, or to be better enabled to defend himſelf againſt thoſe Emperors, or for other Reaſons, reſtored, as rightfully belonging to the Eccleſiaſtic Juriſdiction, *Benevento*, and acknowledged the Dutchies of *Puglia* and *Calabria* in Fee of the *Roman* Church. His Example was followed by *Roger*, one of his Succeſſors, who having driven *William* of the ſame Family out of the Dutchies of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and afterwards ſeized on *Sicily*, acknowledged about the Year 1130, thoſe Provinces in Fee of the Church, under the Title of *King of both Sicilies*, one beyond, the other on this Side, *the Faro*, the Pontiffs not refuſing, out of Ambition, and for their own Profit, to aſſiſt and encourage Uſurpation and Violence in others.

Naples and Sicily Fiefs of the Church.

By theſe Rights, which were always capable of further ſtretching, as human Deſires know no Bounds, the Pontiffs began to deprive ſome of the Kings who ſhewed themſelves contumacious, and refractory to their Commands of thoſe Kingdoms, and to grant them to others.

others. After this Manner they came into the Poſſeſſion of *Henry* the Son of *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, and from *Henry* to his Son *Frederic* II. all three ſucceſſively *Roman* Emperors. But *Frederic* becoming a very bitter Perſecutor of the Church, and the Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins* taking their Riſe in his Time, and having for their Heads the Pontiff and the Emperor, after *Frederic*'s Deceaſe, the Pontiff granted the Inveſtiture of thoſe Kingdoms to *Charles* Count of *Anjou* and *Provence*, as has been mentioned above, with a yearly Tribute of 6000 Ounces of Gold, and on Condition that not one of thoſe Kings ſhould for the future accept of the *Roman* Empire. This Condition was afterwards conſtantly ſpecified in the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, becauſe the Kingdom of the Iſland of *Sicily*, in the Poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Aragon*, was, after a few Years, ſeparated in Tribute, and in Acknowledgment of the Fee, from Obedience to the Church.

A. D. 1532.

Granted to *Charles* of *Anjou*.

It has alſo paſſed for Truth, tho' not

A D 1532. ſo certain as in the preceding Caſes, that long before this the Counteſs *Matilda*, a very powerful Princeſs in *Italy*, made a Donation to the Church of that Part of *Tuſcany* which is bounded by the Torrent of *Peſcia* and the Caſtle of St. *Quirico* in the Territory of *Siena* on one Side, and on the other by the Lower or *Tuſcan* Sea, and the River *Tiber*, now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*; and others add that the City of *Ferrara* was by the ſaid Counteſs given to the Church.

Donations of Counteſs *Matilda*.

Uncertain Donations

THESE laſt Donations are not certain, but there is yet more Reaſon to doubt, what ſome have written, that *Agobert*, King of the *Lombards*, while their Kingdom flouriſhed, beſtowed on the Church the *Coccian Alps*, in which, they ſay, are comprehended *Genoa*, and all the Territory extending from that City to the Borders of *Provence*; and that *Luitprand*, a King of the ſame Nation, made a Donation of *the Sabina*, a Country near *Rome*, and of *Narni* and *Ancona*, with ſome other Towns.

THE

THE State of Affairs thus changing, variable alſo were the Circumſtances of the Pontiffs with regard to the Emperors. For having been under Perſecution for many Ages from the Emperors, and afterwards freed from that Terror by the Converſion of *Conſtantine*, they enjoyed Reſt indeed, but attending only to Spiritual Matters, and being little leſs than entirely ſubject, for many Years, under the Shadow of his Succeſſors, lived after that for a long Courſe of Time in a low Condition, and wholly ſeparate from any Commerce with the Emperors by the Greatneſs of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. *A. D.* 1532. Primitive State of the Popes.

BUT after the Pontiffs were, by the Benefit of the Kings of *France*, arrived at temporal Power, they lived in very good Harmony with the Emperors, and in a cheerful Dependence on their Authority while the Imperial Dignity continued in the Deſcendents of *Charlemagne*, both on account of mutual Kindneſſes, and out of Reverence to the Imperial Grandeur. This coming afterwards to decline, the Popes wholly ſeparated themſelves from

A. D. 1532. the Emperors, and began to form Pretenſions that the Pontifical Dignity, far from receiving, ought to give Laws to the Imperial.

They ſhake off Subjection to the Emperors

WHEREFORE abhorring above all things to return under their antient Subjection, for preventing the Emperors from getting the antient Rights of the Empire acknowledged in *Rome* or elſewhere, as ſome of them, who were either of greater Power, or of a loftier Spirit, made Attempts for that Purpoſe, they openly oppoſed their Efforts by Force of Arms, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Tyrants, who, under the Name of Princes, and of thoſe Cities, which, having aſſerted themſelves at Liberty, no longer acknowledged the Authority of the Empire.

Oppoſe them with Arms.

HENCE it came to paſs that the Pontiffs, continually taking more and more upon themſelves, and converting the Terror of Spiritual Arms on Temporal Matters, interpreting themſelves alſo as Vicars of Chriſt upon Earth, ſuperior to the Em-

Emperor, and intruſted, in many Caſes, with the Care of earthly States, ſometimes deprived the Emperors of the Imperial Dignity, ſtimulating the Electors to choſe others in their Room; and on the other Side the Emperors either choſe, or procured to be choſen new Pontiffs. A. D. 1532. Depoſe them.

THE State of the Church being greatly weakened by theſe Diſputes, and no leſs by the Reſidence of the *Roman* Court for 70 Years in the City of *Avignon*, and by the Schiſm that ſucceeded in *Italy* after the Return of the Pontiffs, from hence it happened that in the Cities ſubject to the Church, and eſpecially in thoſe of *Romagna*, many of the powerful Citizens ſet up a Tyranny over their own Country. Theſe Tyrants the Pontiffs either proſecuted with Arms, or, finding themſelves too weak to oppoſe them, granted them thoſe Cities in Fee to themſelves, or raiſing up other Chiefs inveſted them with the Dominion. Thus the Cities of *Romagna* came to have particular Lords under the Title, for the moſt part, of *Eccleſiaſtic Vicars*. Thus *Ferrara*, given by Originand Viciſſitudes of Eccleſiaſtic Vicars.

A. D. 1532. by the Pontiff in Subjection to the Government of *Azzo da Eſti*, was afterwards granted him under the Name of a Vicariat, and that Family in Proceſs of Time obtained more illuſtrious Titles. Thus alſo *Bologna*, ſeized by *Giovanni Viſconti*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, was afterwards granted him by the Pontiff as a Vicariat. From the ſame Origin aroſe a Multitude of particular Lords in many of the Cities of the *Marca d' Ancona*, of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, and of *Umbria*, now called the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, either againſt the Will, or with a kind of forced Conſent of the Pontiffs. The ſame Changes being made alſo as to the Cities of the Empire in *Lombardy*, it ſometimes happened that, according to the Variations of Affairs, the Vicars of *Romagna*, and of other Eccleſiaſtic States, openly withdrawing themſelves from the Authority of the Church, acknowledged themſelves to hold thoſe Cities in Fee from the Emperors, as ſometimes they who were in Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, *Mantoua*, and other Imperial Towns in *Lombardy*, acknowledged them in Fee from the Pontiffs.

In

A. D. 1532.

In thoſe Times *Rome*, tho' retaining in Name the Dominion of the Church, was governed by itſelf. And tho' the Pontiffs, at their Return from *Avignon* to *Italy*, were at firſt worſhiped as Lords, yet ſoon afterwards the *Romans*, having inſtituted the Magiſtracy of the Banerets *, relapſed into their old Contumacy, ſo that the Pontiffs exerciſing but very little Authority, began to be ſick of living in it, and to reſide elſewhere, till the *Romans* growing poor, and falling into very great Diſorders from the Abſence of the Court, and the Jubilee now approaching, in which they hoped that, if the Pontiff ſhould be at *Rome*, they could not fail of a very great Concourſe from all Parts of Chriſtendom on account of the Jubilee, they ſupplicated Pope *Boniface*, in the moſt humble Manner, to return thither, offering to aboliſh all the Banerets, and to ſubmit themſelves entirely to his Obedience.

Romans refractory to the Popes.

On thoſe Conditions *Boniface* returned to

* *Bandereſi.*

A. D. 1532. to *Rome*, and, the *Romans* being intent on the Gains of that Year, aſſumed the abſolute Sovereignty of the City, and fortified and garriſoned the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*. His Succeſſors dowa to Pope *Eugene*, tho' they often met with many Difficulties, did yet afterwards fully eſtabliſh their abſolute Dominion, and the following Pontiffs have without Diſpute lorded it over that City at their Pleaſure.

Reduced to their abſolute Obedience.

On theſe Foundations, and by thoſe Steps, being exalted to earthly Power, and having by little and little laid aſide the Remembrance of the Salvation of Souls, and of the divine Precepts, and turned all their Thoughts on worldly Greatneſs, nor any longer uſing the Spiritual Authority, but as inſtrumental and ſubſervient to the Temporal. they came to appear more like temporal Princes than Pontiffs, and their Care and Buſineſs became no longer Sanctity of Life, no longer the Exerciſe of Religion, no longer fervent Affection towards their Neighbours, but Armies, but Wars againſt Chriſtians, handling the Myſteries with bloody Thoughts and Hands,

Degeneracy of the Popes.

Hands, how to multiply pecuniary Laws, to invent new Arts, new Snares for taking the Unwary, and accumulating Money from all Quarters, for this End to employ without Diſtinction the Spiritual Arms, for this End to make promiſcuous Sale without Shame of Things ſacred and profane. The Riches in which they abounded as well as their whole Court, were followed by Pomp, Luxury, Indecency of Manners, with abominable Luſts and Pleaſure, no Regard to Succeſſors, no Thought of perpetuating the Majeſty of the Pontificate, but, inſtead of this, an ambitious and plaguy Deſire of exalting their Sons, Nephews, and Relations, not only to immoderate Wealth, but to Principalities, to Kingdoms, no longer diſtributing Dignities and Emoluments to the Well-deſerving and Virtuous, but almoſt conſtantly either ſelling them at the deareſt Rate, or laviſhing them on Perſons adminiſtering to their Ambition, Avarice, or ſhameful Pleaſures. *A. D.* 1532.

By ſuch Works as theſe the Pontifical Reverence being utterly extinguiſhed

A. D. 1532. guiſhed in the Hearts of the People, the Authority was however ſupported in part by the Name, and by the Majeſty, ſo wonderfully powerful and efficacious, of Religion, and greatly aſſiſted by the Faculty which the Popes have of gratifying great Princes, and thoſe who have moſt Intereſt with them, by means of Dignities and other Eccleſiaſtic Grants. Hence knowing themſelves to be in the higheſt Reſpect with Men, and that whoever takes up Arms againſt them incurs great Reproach and frequent Oppoſitions from other Princes, and at all Events gains but little, and that when they are Conquerors, they uſe their Victory at Diſcretion, and when conquered obtain what Conditions they pleaſe, and being ſtimulated by an immoderate Deſire of advancing their Relations from a private Rank to Principalities, they have for a long time paſt been very frequently inſtrumental in ſtirring up Wars and new Combuſtions in *Italy*.

Popes induſtrious to excite Wars in *Italy*.

But to reſume our main Deſign, from which a very juſt Concern for the public Loſs had tranſported me with more Ardor than

than is ſuitable to the Laws of Hiſtory, we may obſerve that A. D. 1532.

The Cities, &c.

Theſe two foregoing Paſſages are extant in the French *Tranſlation, with* de la Noue's *Remarks beforementioned, printed at* Baſil 1569, *in* 8vo, *with this Title:* Franciſci Guicciardini Loci duo, ob Rerum quas continent Gravitatem Cognitione digniſſimi, qui ex ipſius Hiſtoriarum Libris tertio et quarto Dolo malo detracti in Exemplaribus hactenus impreſſis deſiderantur. *Printed again in* 1602, *without the Name of the Printer or Place. Again in* 1604 *at* Francfort.

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PAGE 93, *Line* 7, *read* Prince of *Orange.*——*p.* 107, *l.* 6, *dele* Three.—*p.* 113, *l.* 6, *read* Biſhopric.—*p.* 134, *l.* 18, *read Adrian.*—*p.* 143. *l.* 12, *r.* two Hundred.—*p.* 173, *l.* 1, *r.* were.—*p.* 176, *l.* 13, *r.* Beſiegers.—*p.* 179, *l.* 14, *r.* Pope. *p.* 186, *l.* 9, *r.* he.—*p.* 214, *l.* 18. *r.* became.—*p.* 281, *l.* 5, *r.* chuſe.——*from p.* 261 *to* 387, *the Dates iu the Margin to be omitted.*